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*A Compleat History of Ireland, from
the Earliest Accounts to the Present ...*

John Huddleston Wynne

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Wynne, J. H.

A COMPLEAT
HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,

FROM THE
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TO THE
PRESENT TIME;

In which is contained a General REVIEW of the
ANCIENT KINGS, &c.

Embellished with several elegant ENGRAVINGS, and an accurate
MAP OF IRELAND.

By J. H. WINNE, Esq;
AUTHOR of the BRITISH EMPIRE in AMERICA.

A NEW EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

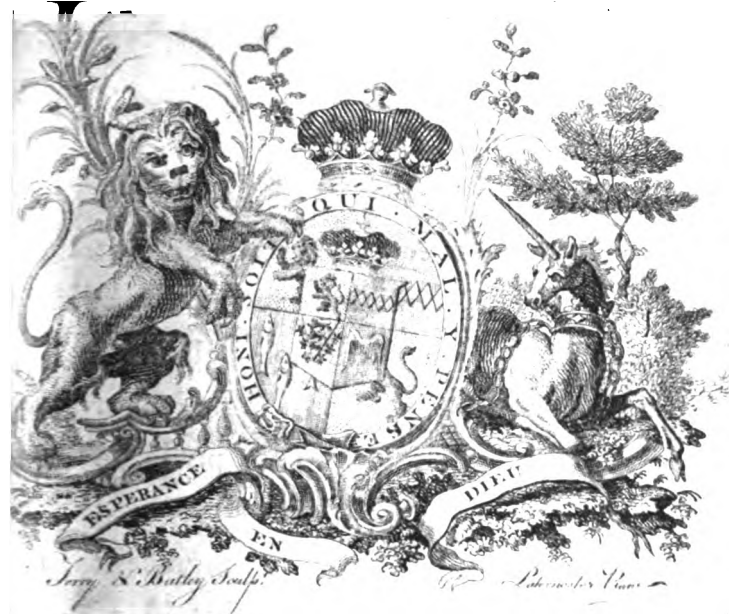
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TO HIS GRACE,
H U G H,
 DUKE OF
NORTHUMBERLAND.

MY LORD,

IT is presumed that the History of a Nation, over which your Grace hath presided with a dignity peculiar to yourself, and that equally to the satisfaction of the people and the honour of the crown, lays claim with propriety to your Grace's patronage.

It reflects, indeed, the highest honour on the illustrious character of your Grace, that the Viceroyalty of our sister Isle has never been supported with so much splendour and magnificence, and the administration of public affairs conducted with such prudence and unanimity, as when your Grace was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The grateful retrospect, which the Natives of that Island still cast on this period of their History, their ardent wishes for a return of so happy an æra, in which the interests of the subject were no less consulted than the glory of the sovereign, sufficiently speak your Grace's eulogium. Being precluded thus: the praises of a private pen by the heartfelt encomiums of a whole nation, I beg leave, to suppress inferior panegyric, and subscribe myself,

Your Grace's most devoted,

and most obedient humble servant,

THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

TH E R E is not a period perhaps, in history, at which the political conduct of Ireland was more interesting than at the present æra. The bustle of war, tumult, and rebellion, indeed, carry with them the appearance of moment; but the event hath generally betrayed their importance to be nothing more than the futile triumph of one set of tyrants over another, a matter equally indifferent to the people at large, as foreign to the purpose of national freedom. It has been otherwise with the less sanguinary and more salutary contests in the

senate. It is from these that nations acquire, by degrees, a true sense of liberty and the permanent means of civil government. It is owing to these that Britain boasts, at this day, of having deduced from the jarring forms of military government and feudal systems, the most perfect constitution that human wisdom ever devised. From the epocha of octennial parliaments may be dated a revolution in the senatorial debates of Ireland, which bids fair for laying a liberal and lasting foundation for like essential improvements in that kingdom. It were in vain, however, to attempt the forming an adequate idea of the political and commercial interests of a people, without being previously versed in their national history. It is this consideration which first suggested, and it is hoped will give weight to, the publication of such a history at the present crisis ;
and

and this the more especially, as the writer has avoided running into the general error of Historians, in dwelling too long on the ancient, if not fabulous, history of that Island. It is true that the plan of ancient story, which the Irish bards and their old historians laid down for their own country, is in many instances ingenious and plausible : the regular succession of great and surprizing events, which they deduce almost from the flood, has been adopted even by men of great parts and learning. But, as those earlier accounts, to say the best of them, are better calculated for the entertainment of the antiquarian, than the historical information of readers in general, the present historian has dwelt more minutely on the modern and interesting parts of his subject. Not that he has neglected any period of Irish history, in which the public

lic transactions may in the smallest degree contribute to display the national character of the people; or elucidate any part of their political system of government. The original materials, with which he has been furnished, for the compilation of this work, being for the most part of a modern date, it is presumed they will be found both pleasing and instructive; and tend to render it a more Complete History of Ireland, (as well as more easily purchased) than any which has yet appeared in our language.

INTRO.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following History of Ireland which is compiled from the most authentic accounts of that country, was undertaken with a design to shew at one view, and within a smaller compass than ever yet has been attempted, the ancient and present state of the Irish Nation, their first establishment, their laws and policy, their wars, the succession of their kings, and all the various revolutions which have happened in their government both before and after the settlement of the English amongst them.

To the rightly understanding such a work it is obvious that some kind of Introductory Discourse is necessary, such as may give the reader an idea of the paths through which ancient history will lead

lead him, so that he may not be surprized at any extraordinary occurrences on the road, nor discouraged from proceeding by unexpected obstacles; and this precaution is the more necessary, as the first advances he must make will be, as it were, upon fairy ground. He will meet with Druids and Bards, bringing giants and enchanters in their train: He will hear of writers before the use of letters was adopted, and of voyagers before the art of navigation was found out.—But all these things must not affright him.—Every nation has its antiquities, those antiquities are mixed with fables;—to separate one from the other is the business of the Historian.—The toil of such a task is his—the fruit, when accomplished, is that of his readers, whose pleasure must be purchased with his pains, whose curiosity must be satisfied by his enquiries.

Nor must his labours end here: when all these fairy scenes are melted away and vanished, and more enlightened ages open on the view, even *then* must the historian tread cautiously the slippery soil, lest he should be betrayed by party, or led aside by the false gloss of interested writers. Amidst all these perplexities, his only resource is in a mind divested of prejudice and a heart sincerely devoted to truth, whose dictates alone he is resolved to follow, and whose power he will
always

always invariably and uniformly acknowledge, on which side soever it may be his fortune to find her.

THAT country which I am about to treat of, being a land separated from all others, and the most westerly island in this part of Europe, it is not wonderful that its history during the first ages, should be dark and perplexing: Those of the ancients who knew any thing of it, must have had their knowledge chiefly confined to its shores, coasts and harbours, and therefore, as they made no conquest of the people, their accounts are little to be depended upon:—Hence when we are told, that the Irish were a sort of cannibals eating human flesh, even that of their parents and friends, and knowing no distinctions of moral rectitude, there is little occasion to give credit to such assertions, unless supported by clear evidence; for the reason above assigned, namely that those who tell such stories were in fact not acquainted with the real manners of that warlike people,

On the other hand, it is warmly objected that as, from a kind of national prejudice, the Irish attempt tracing the antiquities of their own country too far, and besides, generally insist that learning flourished
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in their nation (according to the best accounts) before letters were taught there, so likewise do they boast of such virtues and good government, existing among them at that early period, which even their own records, allowing every line of them to be true, do almost in every line contradict.

With regard to the use of letters, there has indeed been a grand dispute among authors, at what time they were introduced in Ireland. Some have boldly asserted, that they were not known there at all till the arrival of St. Patrick, while others more zealous for the honour of their country, assert that they were brought over by the Milesian colony, whose very emigration from Spain has been warmly contradicted by some modern writers. Without entering into this controversy, which it would take up more room that can be spared to display and settle here, I shall only observe that though I see no improbability in the natives of Ireland having an alphabet of their own, without borrowing from the Romans, yet I am inclined to think that they trace the institution of it, as they trace their pedigrees, higher than truth can warrant. Having said thus much, I shall subjoin their alphabet as **Geoghegan**, arranged by one of their own countrymen, and leave the curious reader to his own comments on the subject.

The

The Beth-Luis-Nion, or Irish Alphabet containing Eighteen Letters*, is as follows :

- 1 B b Beth.
- 2 L l Luis.
- 3 F f Fearn.
- 4 S s Sail.
- 5 N n Nion.
- 6 H h Huath.
- 7 D d Duir.
- 8 T t Tinne.
- 9 C c Coll.
- 10 M m Muin.
- 11 G g Gort.
- 12 P p Pethboc.
- 13 R r Ruis.
- 14 A a Ailm.
- 15 O o Onn.
- 16 U u Ur.
- 17 E e Egdhadh.
- 18 I i Idho.

* Geoghegan remarks that the names of all these Letters correspond to those of Trees; such as the *Beech*, the *Fir*, &c. a circumstance naturally arising from those dwelling in woods who instituted them. The same author observes that N now the fifth was formerly the third letter, whence this arrangement was called Beth-Luis-Nion, as our A B C, and is strenuous in asserting this to have been the old Milesian Alphabet.—Besides this *Beth-Luis-Nion*, the ancient Irish had also an *Oghum*, or a set of Hieroglyphics which they used to employ in mysterious matters or upon secret occasions.

On

On the whole, it should seem that the Irish in early ages, were like all others in their infant state, rude, wild, and uncultivated, and that their first grand object was military glory or the desire of gaining fame in arms.—Having, however, many men of genius among them, it is probable learning flourished early in their isle, and the arts of polished life began to shew themselves in their cities and assemblies; but it is as certain that this learning and these arts were hindered from extending themselves by that military turn I have just now mentioned, which, notwithstanding the blood and treasure it has cost them, still distinguishes that high-spirited nation. And this conclusion I think may in a great measure, account for the contradictory relations we have of the Irish in respect to these particulars.

With regard to their famous Milesian expedition itself, from which period the most moderate of their writers date the æra of their history, as I hinted above, it has been contested by some very ingenious writers, and it must be owned that they have as much reason on their side, as conjectures founded on the similarity of words derived from each other, the situation of neighbouring countries, and other such hypothetical inferences can furnish; but above all the monstrous fables the
Irish

Irish have intermixed in their records, have given colour to their arguments. However, I have chosen to follow the plain tract of history, sifting it as clear as I could from the chaff of fiction, and attending to the testimonies of approved authors wherever such were to be found. But for the readers satisfaction, I will here set down the hypotheses of one of these gentlemen, with my reasons for not adopting them, which to the candid and unprejudiced will I hope, appear satisfactory.—

The author of the History of Manchester, after deriving the Firl Bolgs of Ireland, from the Belgæ formerly settled in Britain, (a circumstance which is more than probable) proceeds to assert, not only that Ireland was first peopled from Britain, but, having placed the date of this arrival of the emigrants, much later than the writers of Irish history, insists likewise that none but British colonies, ever made a settlement in that country, an assertion which if fully proved, must entirely overthrow the whole account of the Milesian Expedition.

To the Belgæ he says, the Brigantes, the Cangii, the Silures, the Dimetæ and other British emigrants succeeded in their turn, in proportion as conquests at home urged them to seek for habitations.

bitations abroad.—According to this author, these frequent emigrations producing at last different interests in the island, the colonists ranging themselves under the two distinctions of Belgæ and Britons, between whom a bloody war having commenced the latter applied for aid, to the ancient inhabitants of Caledonia, “*the land of their fathers*” for assistance; and these sent them Conar the son of Trenmor, with a body of chosen men, who having repulsed the Belgæ, they elected this warrior their Pendragon or chief. After this, the war was continued between them with various success, till at length in a succeeding period, the Britons of Ireland had recourse to Fingal king of Morven, (the celebrated hero of Ossian) who was descended from Trenmor, and was Pendragon of the Caledonian tribes.—This prince twice delivered them from destruction, and in the end entirely subdued the Firl-Bolgs or Belgians, and restored peace to the British inhabitants of the country, which had been first peopled from Britain, according to this relation only about forty-five years before the Christian æra.

Such is the substance of Mr. Whitaker’s Hypothesis, which it must be allowed he has supported with the most specious presumptive arguments:—an hypothesis however, which if admitted, must confound and overthrow almost all the histories
of

of past times, vague, uncertain and useless. By his plan, the whole story of the Milesian conquest is turned into a fable, and we hear nothing of the kings or chiefs presiding in Ireland till the days of Fingal, of whose expedition he has given us an exact account. At this period indeed, he *seems* to fall in with the Irish History in the time of Cairbar; but both the chronology and facts are so confounded, that I am doubtful whether an Irishman would know this strange account of his country.—If the Cairbar he mentions be the same person with him whom the reader will find distinguished by the title of Carbry the First, who was of the Belgian race; this Carbry was the leader of a band of rebels, who interrupted the succession of the Milesian monarchs, as the historians of those days tell us;—but according to the best accounts, his son Moran renounced the sovereignty, and the royal line was again restored about the year of Christ 95. If by Feradartho is meant Ferédmach, this prince indeed succeeded to the monarchy; but we do not find that it was by the assistance of a Fingal, who reigned in Morven; on the contrary, historians tell us that this Fin (who is thus complimented) was only a general of the Irish militia, and it is also added, that he forsook his sovereign, Art or Arthur, the father of Cormac, on the day of battle. Great encomiums indeed are given of him and his troops, as to their personal bravery, but not a word of his being king of Morven or chief of the associated tribes of Caledon.

If it should be said, that all this is only advancing one assertion in order to refute another, I ask what else has the author of the History of Manchester left for us to do? If we quote the historians from whence these facts are taken, he answers, he will not rely upon their authority; if we follow him through the intricate maze of citations in his book, we shall be able only to form conjectures on either part, and both sides will in their turn be put upon proving a negative. After all what has Mr. Whitaker himself done?—He has rejected the whole series of ancient Irish History, which is founded on the credit of bards and druids, who alone possessed the learning of those times, notwithstanding which after citing presumptive proofs from a number of authors, he has at last rested his chief evidence upon the Poems of Ossian, the son of this supposed Caledonian chief.—In the name of common sense and reason why may we not believe one poet as well as another, and why are not the bards of Ireland to be credited as well as Ossian?

But the authority of the son of Fingal he has already declared to need no confirmation, and has shewn that he deems it sufficient to overthrow all the ancient history of our neighbours; yet he has not used it to confirm the favourite opinions of the Scotch, on the one hand, nor has he entirely refuted them on the other; but from his medley
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of arguments, the ingenious author has drawn this conclusion, which we find at length in a subsequent publication of his, “The Irish that were ^{Genuine History of the Britons asserted.} “the progenitors of the British Scots were “themselves the descendants of the Caledonians. [*The Firl Bolgs among them were the descendants of the Belgæ who inhabited Britain*] “and “if the Highlanders submitted to the Scots, or “were reduced by them, they submitted merely “to their own countrymen, and the Caledonians “were reduced by Caledonians.” And thus he has saved the honour of both nations.

I do not however deny that in the History of Manchester, are to be found some very curious researches into antiquity, and likewise many judicious remarks upon the valuable remains of former ages. I will go yet farther :—in the matter here contended for, are used many plausible arguments ; and some of these would not doubtless want their weight, if the whole tenor of history were not against them. But in this case, what part are we to take ? What are conclusions drawn from conjectures or comparison, when opposed to circumstantial relations taken from the records of a kingdom ? In short what are arguments when opposed to facts ?—We have our *probabilities* as well as this author, and we have history besides to support us ;—the ballance is therefore in our favour, unless indeed we submit to own it impossible

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INTRODUCTION.

ble for the Island to have been inhabited some centuries before the nativity, and give up all other authorities, for the sake of relying upon the Caledonian Ossian.

It is clear from almost every circumstance of this affair ; that Ireland though peopled first from Britain, did afterwards receive another colony whom the Irish have ever acknowledged, and have been proved in some measure to resemble ; though time and the mixture of divers nations afterwards settled there, have in some measure effaced that resemblance. The writers of Irish History affirm, " That these were a colony of Milesians from Spain." The thing not being impossible, and their descent being traced from these with great exactness ; how then can we affirm the contrary ?—From the situation ?—No ; for the site of Ireland in regard to Spain, includes no impossibility in the assertion.—From the authority of Ossian ?—No.—For his authority is no more than that of another bard, and he was relating his own exploits and those of his father, the authenticity of which has been justly called in question for many reasons, not the least of which is both these chiefs being mentioned in a different light in the Irish History, from that in which they are held forth in the Poem of Fingal.—Lastly, must we declare this relation to be false ; on account of the many fables we find interspersed in it, or merely because

because there is a *probability* that these affairs may not be as the Irish relate them.—The first of these reasons must be rejected, because it leads us to doubt almost of all history, and as to the second, I need but have recourse to Mr. Whitaker's own conclusions to shew the impropriety of it; since in his *Genuine History of the Britons*, he so often declaims against setting up *probabilities* in opposition to facts; and even declares that they cannot have weight sufficient to affect the slightest evidence of history.

After what has been said on the subject, I shall only add, that none of the reasonings of this gentleman either in his *History of Manchester*, or his other publication seem to me conclusive, or by any means of a nature to shake the credit of the authorities from whence this historical account of Ireland is compiled, and that while such matters are even *disputed*, it is better to take the plain road of history, (till that history is disproved) than to take the bye-paths of conjecture, which may at length plunge the wanderer into a labyrinth of error.

For these reasons I have chosen to follow the general track of those writers, who went before me in relating the Milesian expedition, with which if any sceptical reader should be offended, he has nothing to do but to pass over that relation, to-

gether with the other contested records of the kings, and begin with the second book of this History.—

If we believe the Irish records, the Milesians who came from Spain, brought with them the worship of the true God, which (they say) their ancestors were instructed in by Moses himself.—But in less than a century, we find their successors mentioned as idolators.—Whether they ever professed theism before or not, it is certain that from this time, they as well as their neighbours, the Britons, adored false Gods, and had their druids and bards with all the appurtenances to such superstitions.

And these bards and druids were not only their poets and priests, but also their philosophers and historians, and in a great degree their governors and legislators. They were subsisted at the public expence, that they might have nothing else to do but to attend to their studies, and their persons were held in the greatest veneration. To their history they joined poetry, and to their poetry music;—no wonder then if they at once charmed the ear and satisfied the understanding, for whether we believe according to the Irish relation, that these men had the use of letters, or whether we only admit that they handed down their accounts by oral tradition; in either case, if they

they had the gifts abovementioned, their songs being put into measure and set to a rude melody, must have pleased while they were recited, and fixed the facts related on the minds of their auditors.—There are many remains of the superstitions of these druids, such as altars of unhewn stone, heaps of the same kind of stones piled upon each other, &c. still to be seen in the island, most of which are so different from any monuments of the Danes, or other later conquerors, that they are easily to be distinguished from them.

Among the royal Milesian families, the principal in martial skill, and other abilities was generally elected monarch of Ireland. The kings of the pentarchy established in the island, paid him homage, and he had the place of honour at all their assemblies; but the provincial kings having paid their monarch this customary tribute or homage, generally gave themselves little trouble about his power or command in any other instances;—nevertheless this prince was treated with much ceremony by his subjects, and in process of time erected to himself a separate kingdom, out of the four districts under the government of the provincial princes.—And in this fifth province were four palaces erected, whereof we have given some account in the body of this work: of which that of Teamor or Tarah was the grandest. But I cannot help here taking notice, as other modern writers

ters have done, that it is highly probable the Irish have exaggerated in the relation of their grandeur, since it is not likely that in the infancy of arts in their land, any great degree of splendour and magnificence could be attained in their public edifices, and since we find that the ancient buildings of most note, which remain were the work of the Danes, and not of the native Irish.

The Irish monarch's revenue consisted partly of a settled stipend, partly of presents made him in kind, and partly of taxes levied by the assembly of nobles and chief men, on particular occasions. Every king of the pentarchy had such a number of chiefs under him as there were families. These had the administration of justice amongst their own particular tribe, and for this purpose each of them kept a Brehon (that is a lawyer) among his domestics.—The choice of chiefs and deputies was made by the order of the people and their nobles, while these chose a king from amongst the royal family—And to prevent any ill consequences from a contested election, the assembly held at Tarah, chose a roydamna or regent to assume the government immediately upon the death of the prince, which institution however, like all others, being abused, occasioned frequent disturbances, as will appear in the course of the history.—

Several

Several such laws and orders were enacted in different reigns, in order to amend the constitution, all of which being related in their place, I shall not here enumerate them, but shall only observe that as they were instituted by some of the wisest of their kings, so though they did not always fulfil every end they were designed for, yet they generally answered good purposes.

The controversies of the ancient Irish were generally determined by the Brehons, I have just now mentioned. The Brehon who was to decide any particular cause, seating himself upon a heap of stones in the open air, declared judgement without the assistance of either clerks or counsellors.— And if by this method the sentence given was sometimes arbitrary, yet one advantage at least arose from it, which was, that it prevented long suits of law, and tedious criminal processes. We are told that the punishments inflicted by this judge were very mild, consisting in general of fines, whereof he had the eleventh part for his pains. But when we are informed, from the same authorities, that robbery and plunder were not punished by this institution, it will be easy to conceive that these mild punishments were but a proof of the depravity of the people's manners, when first these Brehons were appointed; and it is also pretty clear that the judge had few capital cases referred to him, in an age and country where almost

most every one set himself up for his own judge and avenger.—King John abolished the Brehon laws in Ireland, which seem to have been rendered useless in many circumstances long before his time, and before the settlement of the English in that country.

There prevailed in Ireland two laws or customs of inheritance instituted in early ages, the first was called that of Tanistry, which among the great, if the heir or eldest son of a king or chief were not of known abilities, set aside his claim of inheritance and gave it the younger branch. The second, which prevailed among the body of the people, was the law of Gavelkind, or a partition of the inheritance among the whole family, that was to be renewed at every death, and which doubtless occasioned much annarchy and confusion; but these two customs, were likewise altered in the reign of king John, who caused laws of a different kind to be enacted for the benefit of those that claimed succession of inheritance by seniority, which were doubtless better calculated in many respects to support the great families of the kingdom.

But, besides these above described, the Irish held two other customs in the highest repute, namely Fosterage and Gossipred.—By the former of these, children were put away from their parents to be fostered by others, and the lower sort of people,
even

even bought of the rich the privilege of fostering their children, which begot a strong alliance between the child so nurtured and his foster-father and mother, and endeared him more to their particular tribe, as we are informed, than even to his own natural parents and relations. The other custom was that called Gossipred, whereby the gossips, as is well known became so dear to each other, that it was the same in effect as if they had been of one sept and family, which often occasioned much confusion by the strange alliances that it created.

Coigne and livery (as it is termed in England) was also in use among the Irish, together with many other customs of the like nature, which served to establish a kind of feudal tyranny; they had slaves also whom they bought and sold at fixed prices, as well as villains (i. e. those who held by villenage) and had lands granted them on that tenure, which belonged to the estate of the chief or lord of the manor, and though occupied by them were still accounted as a part of his inheritance. These served only for hedging, ditching, ploughing and the meaner occupations of the country, and were not suffered to assume the military or any other honourable employment.

The military indeed, it is easy to conceive in a state like that of the Irish, as I have just now described them, must naturally be supposed to be one of the most honourable of employments,
Their

Their youth were all trained up to arms, and knighted even in infancy; and when these young soldiers grew to man's estate, they were most enthusiastically enamoured of arms. They placed not their defence in fortified towns; what was yet more to the purpose, they relied not on their officers nor on each other, (which, as a late writer observes, is too much the case of our modern soldiers) but each acted in battle as if the fortune of the day rested only on his single prowess. Thus animated, the Irish charged with fury, and continued their attacks with unremitting ardour; and as to their kings, it was a rare instance, if one of them could be pointed out that survived a total defeat, and the loss of his crown in battle.—

The ancient natives of Ireland were of a robust, and healthy constitution, inured to all kinds of hardship, careless as they were fearless, but like most military people, of a lazy and indolent habit, despising trade, and never exerting themselves but in study or in arms. Though the generality of the people contented themselves with what we should call but slender diet, yet were they extremely amorous, and being men of strong passions, indulged themselves in the greatest latitude with regard to wives and concubinage. The dress of the men was a mantle and trowsers; they covered their heads with a cappeen: the women wore a mantle and petticoat, and had a kircher to throw over their heads, and as to linen it was so
plenty

plentiful among them, that we are told an Irishman would use thirty or forty ells in one shirt, gathered up together in folds and coloured with saffron, in order to save the trouble of washing, so that there was no occasion to take it off till it was grown so old, that it could not be worn any longer;—and the people in general lived in little huts or cabins without doors, windows, or chimneys.—

Such were the laws, manners and customs of the ancient Irish, the history of whose country we are about to enter upon.—But before I proceed with that, I shall take some little notice of the alterations that have taken place since they have been under the English government, with which I shall conclude this introductory discourse.

—As to the vulgar among the native Irish, they still in their manners and diet bear a striking resemblance to their forefathers. Their chief food consists of milk and potatoes, together with a kind of ale which they call Shebbeen, to which in cold weather particularly they add great quantities of whisky (a liquor like the English gin) take much snuff, and are very fond of smoking tobacco. Being in general extremely indolent, they sit down content in filth and poverty, when by honest labour they might earn a comfortable subsistence.

But all this is only true of the mere vulgar. It is long since their gentry accommodated themselves to the English manners, and the middling people

people and inhabitants of trading towns in general have followed their example; and indeed the encouragement of the linen manufacture in Ireland, another spirit has gone forth, a spirit of honest emulation and industry, on which alone that people can ever build any solid hopes of becoming a great and a respectable nation.

The Irish being converted, as history says, by St. Patrick, continued such zealous professors of the christian faith, and produced so many learned and pious men, that notwithstanding some disputes they had with the see of Rome, Hibernia was styled the island of Saints. In queen Elizabeth's time the land was divided, like many other countries, between protestants and papists, and so it has remained ever since; but the fatal quarrels between these two contending parties, or to speak more properly, the dreadful fury attendant on bigotry has often deluged the land with blood.

The English indeed could not be said to have gained the dominion of the whole island, till the reign of James I. who did not hold it without much disturbance, and even in his and his son Charles's time the distinction of the *pale* was continued, under which denomination were included the English and those natives who submitted entirely to *their* laws and customs.—But the Irish massacre, the consequent reduction of the Irish by Cromwell, and finally the revolution, altered the form of government, and even the

the face of the country.—So that notwithstanding the great number of catholics in Ireland, the present established religion of the land is the same as that of England, and they are in like manner under episcopal government having four archbishoprics, namely Armagh, Dublin, Tuam and Cashell; and eighteen bishoprics.—The number of the papists decreases daily, the disqualifications they labour under, and the very nature of the government giving them all manner of discouragement. But, above all the rest, the establishment of protestant schools, and the countenance given to the linen manufacture, has contributed at once to the increase of protestantism, and of industry in the country, the civil government and laws of which are as much conformable to those of England, as it is possible in the nature of things for them to be.

Since the English government has been established in Ireland, the crown of Great Britain has always sent thither a deputy, or lord lieutenant, as viceroy of Ireland. Among the greatest of all these lord lieutenants in our days, may be reckoned Hugh duke of Nortumberland, who administered the affairs of that kingdom, in such a manner as to be beloved by all its worthy members, and maintained the dignity of his high office, with a noble and princely splendour.

The authority of the lord lieutenant is such, that on behalf of his majesty, he has the disposal of almost

most all places of power, and trust: His commission is held only during the king's pleasure; and the term of three or four years generally put an end to it. — The lords justices preside in his absence, and he allows each of them an hundred pounds a month for their deputation.

The Irish parliament like the English one, consists of lords temporal and spiritual, and a house of commons, which meets once in two years, and is called and dissolved at his majesty's pleasure by the lord lieutenant who represents him. The members of the house of commons are elected from the counties, cities, boroughs, &c. as in England, and their duration which used to be for life are now limited to the term of eight years.

Having said thus much, I shall here close this Introduction.—I might indeed have entered upon a much longer disquisition on the *temper* and *disposition* of the Irish; but I wave this for the present, referring my reader to the tenor of that people's conduct as related in the following history, from whence he may form the best judgement of their characters, as well as of other particulars upon which the bounds of this discourse would not suffer me here to expatiate.

A N E W

A TABLE

*Shewing the DESCENT of the present DUKE and DUTCHESS of
NORTHUMBERLAND from the Antient KINGS of LEINSTER
in IRELAND and from the Sovereign PRINCES of WALES, 1772*



PATRICK, King of LEINSTER.

DERMOT, Last King of LEINSTER.

*EVA, only Daughter of K. Dermot,
married RICHARD STRONGBOW, Earl
of Pembroke, who Died A.D. 1176.*

*ISABEL, only Daughter of Richard
and Eva, mar.^d WILLIAM MARSHALL,
Cr. Earl of Pembroke. He Died. 1219.*

*ISABEL, only Dau. of William and
Isabel, mar.^d GILBERT DE CLARE
Earl of Gloucester &c. He Died. 1230.*

*RICHARD DE CLARE, Earl of Glouc. &c.
Died. 1262.*

*GILBERT DE CLARE, E. of Glouc. &c.
Died. 1296. He mar.^d JOAN OF ACRE
Daughter of K. EDW. I.*

*ELIZABETH, Dau. of Gilbert de Clare
mar.^d JOHN DE BURGH, Son to
the Earl of Ulster.*

*WILLIAM DE BURGH, Son of John
Earl of Ulster &c.*

*ELIZABETH, only Dau. of William
De Burgh &c. married LYONEL
Duke of CLARENCE, 3^d Son of
K. EDWARD III. He Died. 1368.*

*PHILIPPA, only Daughter and Heir
of Lyonel Duke of Clarence.*



**LLEWELYN the GREAT,
Prince of WALES.**

*GLADUSE only Daughter of Pr.
Llewelyn, was given in marriage
by her Father to RALPH Lord
MORTIMER of Wigmore. A
Who Died in 1240.*

*ROGER Lord MORTIMER, Son of
Ralph and the Princess Gladuse
ought in right of his Mother to
have succeeded to the
PRINCIPALITY of WALES, but
because he was an Englishman
was set aside by the Welsh.
He Died in 1292.*

*EDMUND Lord MORTIMER.
Son of Roger.
Died. 1303.*

*ROGER MORTIMER,
1st Earl of March,
so created 1329.
attained & executed 1330.*

*EDMUND MORTIMER,
Son of Earl Roger.
Died. 1331.*

*ROGER MORTIMER,
II. Earl of March.
Died. 1360.*

*EDMUND MORTIMER, III. Earl
of March Died. 1382.*

The PROGENY of Philippa and Edmund
See in the next TABLE.



EDMUND MORTIMER, III^d Earl of March.
 PHILIPPA only Dau. of LYONEL D of CLARENCE.

ROGER MORTIMER IVth Earl of March
 Deceased by R. Rich. IInd to the CROWN.

AMY MORTIMER, eldest Dau. married to
 RICHARD 2^d of CAMBRIDGE, 3rd grandson
 of K. EDW. I.

RICHARD Duke of YORK, claimed the
 CROWN in right of his Mother; married
 CECILY NEVILLE, Granddaughter
 of JOHN OF GAUNT.

ANNE, Sister of K. EDW. IVth D. of York of
 Exeter, mar.^d to her 2^d Husb. Sir
 THO. S^r LEGER, Kn^t.

ANN S^r LEGER, only Dau. married
 Sir GEO. MANNORS, Lord Ros.

THOMAS MANNORS 1st Earl of
 Rutland, Died. 1526.

ELIZABETH MANNORS, married
 to Sir JOHN SAVAGE, Kn^t.

Sir JOHN SAVAGE, Kn^t.

THOMAS Viscount SAVAGE,
 Died. 1635.

THOMAS SAVAGE Esq^r, 2^d Son
 of Begson in Cheshire.

ELIZABETH SAVAGE, Wife of
 MARMADUKE, II^d Lord LANGDALE.

ELIZABETH LANGDALE, married to
 Sir HUGH SMITHSON Bar^t.

LANGDALE SMITHSON Esq^r, only
 Son; died before his Father.

Sir HUGH SMITHSON, Bar^t, created
 in 1706 DUKE of NORTHUMBERLAND.

ELIZABETH MORTIMER, mar.^d to Sir
 HENRY PERCY, surnamed HOTSPUR
 Son of the 1st Earl of Northumb.
 Slain 1403.

HENRY PERCY, Son of Hotspur, II^d Earl
 of Northumb. mar.^d ELEANOR Sister of
 CECILY Duchess of YORK, Slain 1455.

HENRY PERCY III^d Earl of Northumb.
 Slain 1461.

HENRY PERCY IVth Earl of Northumb.
 Slain 1489.

HENRY PERCY, Vth Earl of Northumb.
 Died 1527.

Sir THOMAS PERCY, Kn^t, 2^d Son
 Died. 1538.

HENRY PERCY, VIth Earl of Northumb.
 Died. 1585.

HENRY PERCY, VIIth Earl of Northumb.
 Died. 1632.

ALGERNON PERCY, IXth Earl of Northumb.
 Died 1688.

JOCELINE PERCY, XIth and last Earl
 Died. 1670.

ELIZABETH Baroness PERCY, only
 Dau^y of Earl Joceline, Died. 1722.
 mar.^d to CHARLES SEYMOUR, Duke of
 Somerset who Died 1748.

ALGERNON SEYMOUR, Duke of Somerset
 in right of his Mother Baron PERCY
 Died. 1750.

ELIZABETH Baroness PERCY, &c. the
 name DUTCHESS of NORTHUMBERLAND

HUGH Earl PERCY, Eldest Son,
 Lord ALGERNON PERCY, Second Son

1772

A

NEW GENERAL AND IMPARTIAL

H I S T O R Y

O F

I R E L A N D.

BOOK THE FIRST.

IRELAND is an island situate between Ireland, its
51° and 55° 20^m of north latitude, and between situation
6 and 10 degrees of west longitude from the and extent,
meridian of London, having Great Britain on the
east, New England on the west, the Hebrides on
north, and the Spanish coast of Galicia on the
south side of it, where Cape Clear is washed by
the great Atlantic ocean. But the nearest land of
all is the western coast of Scotland, northward of
Galloway, where the Scotch and Irish Shores ap-
proach within five leagues of each other, insomuch
that the inhabitants often pass over within four
hours time from one kingdom to the other.

The extent of Ireland is generally computed
to be, in length 285 miles, and from the
east part of Down to the west part of Mayo,
its greatest width about 160, miles; contain-

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B

ing

2 HISTORY OF IRELAND.

ing about 17,927,864 English acres. † According to the provincial description of this kingdom, it consists of the four provinces of Leinster, Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, ‡ according to which division, it contains the following counties and principal towns ;

Division of Ireland.	COUNTIES.		CHIEF TOWNS.	
I. Leinster 12 Counties	{	Dublin	{	Dublin
		Louth		Drogheda
		Wicklow		Wicklow
		Wexford		Wexford
		Longford		Longford
		East Meath		Trim
		West Meath		Mullingar
		King's County		Phillipstown
		Queen's County		Maryborough
		Kilkenny		Kilkenny
		Kildare		Kildare
		Carlow		Carlow
II. Ulster 9 Counties	{	Down	{	Down
		Armagh		Charlemont
		Monaghan		Monaghan
		Cavan		Cavan
		Antrim		Carrickfergus
		Londonderry		Derry
		Tyrone		Omagh
		Fermanagh		Enniskillen
	{	Donegall	{	Donegall

III. Con-

† Or, 11,067,712 acres, of Irish measure.

‡ These were anciently 4 kingdoms, as will be seen in the course

of this history, to which was formerly added a fifth, called Meath; but this territory, is now sunk and lost in the province of Leinster.

	COUNTIES.	CHIEF TOWNS.
III. Connaught 6 Counties	Leitrim	Leitrim
	Roscommon	Roscommon
	Mayo	Ballinrobe
	Sligo	Sligo
	Galway	Galway
	Clare	Ennis
IV. Munster 5 Counties	Cork	Cork
	Kerry	Tralee
	Limerick	Limerick
	Tipperary	Clonmel
	Waterford	Waterford

As to the climate of Ireland, except where the country is infested with bogs, it is in most instances like England, having great variety of weather; though, on the nicest observation, not so subject to violent storms and tempests.

It is furnished with many fine rivers and excellent harbours, and has likewise several very extensive loughs or lakes, from which a number of small brooks issue; and some of these have little islands covered with verdure in the midst of them,

The bogs abovementioned are attributed by many, to want of care in cleansing and clearing the channels of the rivers, making drains in the marshy grounds, &c. as a proof of which, they observe, that these nuisances have not always existed in the manner they now do, that firm ground is still to be found at the bottom of them, from which timber, &c. has been dug up; so that it is concluded, these bogs have continued spreading themselves over the land from time to time by the mere neglect of its inhabitants. However true this may be, yet as it is no less certain, that some counties are more liable to these inconveniences than others, so we may easily conceive that Ireland has acquired

its bogs from the many loughs, brooks and moist lands with which it abounds; and the result of the observation will be no more than this: that nuisances not corrected will increase, and that care and cultivation will improve any soil or country.

The river Shannon which rises in the county of Leitrim is very large, wide, and deep, in general; but a chain of rocks at present interrupt its navigation to the great inconvenience of the inhabitants.—Besides this, the Boyne which empties itself at Drogheda, the Ban which falls into the sea near Coleraine, and the Liffey on which the city of Dublin is situated, are the rivers of the most note in the kingdom; though there are many others which contribute both to the health and convenience of its inhabitants.

And it is likewise to be noted, that Ireland is very commodiously furnished with harbours, bays and havens, such as those of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Kingsfale, Galway, Sligoe, Carlingford, Dundalk, Carrickfergus, &c. which are conveniently situated, and render the country the most eligible for foreign trade and commerce of any in Europe.

Woods. Ireland is said to have been formerly full of woods, but at ease is so much altered that in modern days, it has been found necessary to plant new ones, and to use every method for their preservation and increase.

Mountains. There are several mountains in Ireland, yet the country altogether may rather be considered as lying low and level to the shores. We find indeed a mountain in the county of Down, whose perpendicular height is computed at upwards of a thousand yards; but this district abounds with the highest hills, and such are not common in other parts of the kingdom.

The

The mineral productions of this country have been little known till of late years, the natives in general having given themselves no trouble about them.—Nevertheless iron, copper, lead, and even silver ore have been found in the Irish mines.—There are likewise quarries of slate and marble; and the earth produces in some places coals, and turf, for firing, which latter many of the bogs contribute to furnish it with, a convenience, that is too dearly bought at the expence of so many acres of ground lying useless, which if drained and cultivated might turn to so good an account, and add to the intrinsic riches of the country.

The weather in Ireland being much the same as in England, the produce of the soil where it is improved is very little different; and those spots where cultivation has been used are generally fertile and particularly rich in pasture, though in Ireland, as indeed in most other countries there are some barren places which, as well as the marsh-grounds, may be reckoned among the unprofitable parts of that island.

The animal productions of Ireland are generally much the same with those of England, and though some writers have asserted that neither birds nor bees were to be found there, this has proved an egregious mistake, as honey is produced there as well as in other countries, and store of game is to be found in many of their districts.

But above all things, Ireland has been most famous for breeding no venomous animals, a circumstance in which those who have written concerning that country are generally agreed; and some have even carried the matter so far as to say that serpents, toads, &c. would die, if transported thither from any other climate; but how true soever the former part of the story may be,

the latter seems to want confirmation, * and certainly a thing so very wonderful ought to be well attested before it gains credit with any but the ignorant vulgar: they indeed, who for the most part, implicitly believe that St. Patrick endued the land with this quality, will never be backward in enhancing the miracle of their saint.—Nevertheless, all reasonable persons will judge that whatever benefit of this kind Ireland possesses must arise from the nature of the air or soil; and such will not be over credulous in regard to the reports of its *sudden operation*, which though we may not pronounce it *impossible*, seems rather to exceed the bounds of moral probability.

Natural
curiosities,
&c.

Boate.

The great American Moose-Deer is generally thought to have been frequent in this country, (though now entirely extinct) some horns having been dug up which, by their shape and size, the learned have concluded could belong to no other

* With regard to this point, Mr. Alban Butler, (a catholic writer) resident of St. Omer's, in his Lives of Saints, thus expresses himself,—"The popular tradition (says he) attributes the exemption of Ireland from venomous creatures to the benediction of St. Patrick, given by his staff called *The Staff of Jesus*, which was kept with great veneration in Dublin, as is mentioned, in the year 1540, by Ralph Hieden in his Polychronicon published by Mr. Gale and others;" and he adds immediately after, "The Isle of Malta is said to derive a like privilege from St. Paul, who was there bitten by a viper."—"But there is not a word mentioned of the extraordinary quality the Irish climate is endowed with, of killing such creatures when transported thither; though the vulgar are fully persuaded of this, which they attribute like their first expulsion of

them to their tutelar saint.—Nay they affirm that any person of either sex being descended from the ancient Irish, can cure the bite of a serpent by a touch.—It is indeed asserted that some experiments of this kind have been tried; but as I said above, I cannot find them authenticated, and suppose my readers cannot expect they should be so.—Many other creatures harmless in themselves, are likewise reported never to have been found in Ireland untill within the last century, but when brought thither have increased and multiplied, and the same has been likewise observed of certain pernicious domestic vermin never known there before, that have spread themselves in the country, since they have been introduced among them by their commerce with the English, a quantity of these last were said to be first carried over by a whimsical nobleman, in order try experiments.

other than this stately animal; one pair of these was found measuring full ten feet ten inches, from the tip of one horn to that of the other.

Some bones of an extraordinary shape and size have also, at different times, been dug up in Ireland, which have employed the conjectures of the curious, many of whom have determined them to be no other than the teeth of Elephants, a species of animals as little likely to be found in that climate, as the Deer abovementioned.

Most of these things are commonly and most rationally referred either to the general or some partial deluge, which having altered the disposition of land and water, may have reduced to the form and situation of islands, what formerly were parts of the continent, and *vice versâ*. If this is not sufficient to account for these extraordinary circumstances, we must even leave them unaccounted for, and acknowledge that they must be ranked among the *arcana* of nature, which elude all human researches.

But one of the greatest curiosities in Ireland, is esteemed that vast pile of stony columns commonly known by the name of the *Giant's Causeway*, eight miles from Coleraine, in the county of Antrim, which a learned traveller has thus described.

“ This causeway (says he) is composed all of angular shapes, from three sides to eight. The eastern point, where it joins the rock, terminates in a perpendicular cliff, formed by the upright sides of the pillars, some of which are thirty-three feet four inches high*, each pillar consists of

B 4

several

* The same gentleman (Dr. Pococke) says he measured the most westerly point, at high-water, to the distance of three hundred and sixty feet from the cliff; but was told that at low-water it extended sixty feet farther, upon a descent,

till it was lost in the sea. Upon measuring the eastern point, he found it five hundred and forty feet from the cliff, and saw as much more of it as the other, which winds to the east, and is, like that, lost in the water.

several joints or stones, lying one upon another, from six inches to about twelve in thickness; and, what is very surprising, some of these joints are so convex, that their pre-eminences are nearly quarters of spheres, round which is a ledge that holds them together with the greatest firmness, every stone being concave on the other side, and fitting in the exactest manner the convexity of the part of that beneath it. The pillars are from one to two feet in diameter, and generally consist of about forty joints, most of which separate very easily; and one may walk along upon the tops of pillars as far as to the edge of the water.

“ From the bottom which is of black stone to the height of about sixty feet, the cliffs are divided at equal distances by stripes of a reddish stone that resembles a cement, about four inches in thickness; upon this there is another stratum of the same black stone, with another five inches thick of the red. Over this is likewise a stratum ten feet thick, divided in the same manner, then one of the red stone twenty feet deep, and above that a pile of upright pillars, and a stratum of black stone twenty feet high, over this again rises another pile of pillars, which in some places reaches to the tops of the cliffs, in others not so high; and in other places again above them, where they are called chimnies.—The face of these cliffs extends about three English miles.”

Constitution, complexion and temper of the Irish.

The seasons in Ireland being temperate, the winters seldom severe, and the summers moderate, the country is in general very wholesome, though it is likely it would be much more so, if the bogs were drained, and the waste lands cultivated.—However, as it is, the natives are mostly strong and vigorous, and as little subject to diseases as those of most other nations in Europe.—The men being in general tall and stoutly made, and the women healthy and well proportioned

proportioned—With regard to their constitution and complexion, the natives like those of all other countries that are peopled by different colonies, partake in a great measure of their ancestors nature—Thus the Irish of what is called the *Pale*, vary somewhat from those planted at Newry in stature and complexion, both differing still more from the mere Irish, or *aborigines* of the country.* These latter inherit the nature and constitution of their fathers, and, generally speaking, give evident signs of the ancient stock from whence they are descended. As I have already given a general sketch of their customs, diet, and manner of living, in the Introduction, I shall not dwell on farther particulars of that kind in this department, but conclude here the description of the nature of the soil, climate, &c. and advert to the Historical Account of the Kingdom.

THE

* Sir James Ware carries this distinction yet farther, in the following conjecture. “It may perhaps be judged an over-nice observation, (says he) that the inhabitants of different parts of Ireland yet seem to retain some resemblance to the people from whom they are supposed originally to have come. Thus the natives along the western coast, who are thought to have come from Spain, as being the opposite continent to them, generally resemble the Spaniards in their persons, being tall and slender, finely limbed, having grave, sedate countenances, long eye-brows and lank, dark hair,

“whereas the natives on the northern and eastern coasts, who are supposed to have come from Britain and probably into Britain from Gaul, are of a squat, set stature, have short broad faces, thick lips, hollow eyes and noses cocked up and seem to be a distinct people from the western Irish, by whom they are called Clani-Galls, i. e. the offspring of the Galls. The curious may carry these observations farther: doubtless a long intercourse and various mixtures of the natives have much worn out these distinctions, of which I think there are yet visible remains.

THE General History of Ireland, is the object of my aim with which I shall now proceed, deducing it from the earliest periods of which we can expect any authentic account, and continuing it with as much precision as the nature of the subject will admit, through those obscure and uncertain ages, till the more enlightened periods, after their conversion to christianity, shall have furnished more profitable materials for the completion of this arduous undertaking.

—It will doubtless be expected that I should give some account from whence Ireland derived its ancient names, as well as from what stock its primitive settlers were descended, both which are matters that have occasioned the warmest disputes among authors, as the records of those times from whence they sought to draw their information were wrapped in the most perplexing obscurity.

Ancient
names of
Ireland.

In the first place as to the names of Ireland—It is called Ierne, Hibernia, and sometimes Scotia, which latter appellation it appears to have obtained before ever it was applied to modern Scotland.—The origin of these names has been variously accounted for.

According to some, Ireland was first called Ierne, (and thence Hibernia,) from the Phœnician Ierne, others again are of opinion that it was called Hibernia, q. d. The Winter Land; — intimating that it was a cold country; to this though it is answered on the other hand, that Ireland is not a very cold or wintry climate, yet those who maintain this assertion, support it by saying that this isle being so remotely situated and its southernmost coast more northerly situate than that of Britain, the ancients might probably have imagined it to be a cold country,

country, (though later times have discovered the error) and thus it was supposed,

“ The Grecian bards record her in their strains,
“ Frozen Iërne, bound in icy chains.”

And Camden is of opinion that Ireland is the same with the Ogygia of Plutarch, under which supposition the poem was written from whence the above lines are quoted.

To these conjectures two others are added, one that the island received its name from Heber, and the other that it received its appellation from *IRE* or *IR*, one of the Milesian chiefs, who was the first man of their colony that was ever buried in that country, which was afterwards distinguished as the grave of *IR*;—who this *IR* was we shall see in the course of the history.

But it seems more probable if the Spaniards settled in Ireland that the name of Hibernia was derived from that of Iberia, the word having either since been corrupted, or as some modern historians suppose, purposely altered in order to distinguish the colony from the mother country.

There is yet another name by which Ireland was formerly known that has occasioned as many disputes as any of the former;—it appears that Ireland was called Scotia, before Scotland was peopled, and afterwards Scotia Major by way of eminence, both which are facts that the natives of North-Britain are by no means willing to allow.—Nevertheless it is clear from Bede* and other ancient writers that the Scyths, Scuyts, or Scots, first settled in Ireland, which gained from them the name of Scotia, and whose natives the Britons termed y-Scot; and it

was

* It is said by Bede, that a nation of the Picts from Scythia sailing in an intent they had formed to settle themselves among the Scots in Ireland, obtained wives from among

that people, who persuaded them to go to the northern parts of Britain, where they afterwards took up their abode.

was from thence that a colony went over afterwards and settled in the Hebrides and in that part of Britain which we now call Scotland—And besides, as we often find Ireland expressly termed *Scotia* by ancient writers before Scotland was known by that name, there seems to remain no doubt but that the Scythians or Scots were first planted in the country which first bore that appellation.

—And thus much for the different names of Ireland.* We shall in consequence proceed next to enquire into what concerns the origin of the ancient Irish, and the first peopling of their country.

And here I am led into a labyrinth, through the intricacies of which an historian has need of a very exact clue to guide him, lest he should be lost in fable on the one hand, or deviate into error and incredulity on the other. It is necessary indeed, to premise, That the origin of most nations is, generally speaking, involved in clouds and obscurity, on which account the best historians, are often obliged to offer conjectures because certainties are not to be come at.—In this case, no other reason can be given, but the barrenness of the period, no other excuse offered but that of unavoidable necessity.

Indeed if I were disposed to fill this history with all the rubbish of ancient fable, I need not be at a loss for materials, nor even for authorities,

* This country has indeed been known by other names, such as *Juvena*, (probably a corruption of *Ierne*) and Keating tells us it was also called *Inis na bhfiodhbhuide*, the woody island—*Crioch na bhfuineadh*, or the neighbouring country—*Inis Alga*, or the noble island,---*Fodhla* from a name of one queen,---*Bamba*, from that of another,---*Muicinis*, or the Isle of Swine,---and *Inis Fail*, or the Land of Destiny on account of the supposed fatal stone,

which they report to have been brought from thence by King Fergus to Scotland, and transported from Scotland to England by our James I. on the faith of an ancient prophecy, That wherever that stone was found the Scots should reign.---I have not dwelt long on these particulars because the repetition of all these names must be rather curious than entertaining, and the reasons for some of them seem not to be properly authenticated.

thorities, such as they are, but as this is by no means my aim, I shall content myself with a bare recital of what is said to have passed during the more obscure ages, merely for the sake of continuing the thread of the story, and dwell only on such places as have either historical truth, or the strongest grounds of probability to support them.

In the first place;—those authors, who delight in setting up the antiquity of the countries they write of, have entertained us with a most wonderful account of settlements made in Ireland before the general deluge *, others more modestly derive their first accounts from a colony settled in Ireland by one Partholanus, a descendant of Magog the son of Japhet, who aiming to follow the example of Nimrod, and set himself up as a sovereign, setting out with a thousand followers to discover new lands, at length reached the Irish shores, having first been expelled from Greece, where his parents had become the victims of his ambition, that could be contented with nothing less than a kingdom. —Having made himself mas-
ter

Origin of
the ancient
Irish.

* According to some of these, three of Cain's daughters sailed to Ireland, three hundred years before the flood—and afterwards three men and fifty women arrived there, all of whom died of one distemper in a week's time, and then the land remained uninhabited until the world was drowned.

Another account places the peopling the Isle twelve months before the flood, by three fishermen, whose names they tell us, were Caps, Laighre, and Luaful.

But the most solemnly and circumstantially ridiculous of these antediluvian fables, is that which mentions the expedition of a certain woman named Keasar, the wife of Bith, who having on the prophecy of Noah concerning the deluge, asked and been denied a place in the ark, she and her husband

were advised by an idol to build an ark of their own, which accordingly they did, and being ignorant of the time the flood should happen, embarking with others, after a tedious and dangerous voyage, arrived in Ireland forty days before the waters began to overspread the earth, according to his relation, but all these adventurers died six days before the flood and left the land uninhabited, whilst another yet more extraordinary adds, that one of the voyagers named Fiontan even survived the general deluge—I have presented these fictions rather as a specimen of the abilities of the bards at inventing fictions and a proof how little their accounts are to be depended on, than for any pleasure the reader can receive in perusing or I in relating them.

ter of the island, his people began to clear away the woods with which it then abounded and to cultivate the soil, in which undertakings they met with great success. And thus, say they, was Ireland first inhabited.—But unhappily a certain band, of the stock of Nimrod, whom they termed Fomorians, or giants, arriving amongst them, attempted to subdue the country; after many desperate engagements they were at last routed by the Partholarians, and far the greater part of them destroyed on one decisive day. But the dead carcases of these Fomorians being denied burial, it is said the stench occasioned a plague which presently swept off the victors and left the land uninhabited*.

About thirty years afterwards, Nemedius, another descendant of Magog, with above a thousand men arrived in Ireland, and settling in the country began to improve it as Partholanus had done before him §; but some Fomorians being amongst his followers, they took occasion to revolt, as some say, after many bloody battles they were at last quite subdued: whilst others assert that these Fomorians being inhabitants of Africa, at length withdrew to Africa from whence they brought such numerous forces as totally overthrew the Nemedians, and effected the conquest of the island.

But according to this account, some of the Nemedians retiring to Belgia, their descendants (now first called Firl Bolgs ||, for which appellation various contradictory reasons have been assigned) returned

* This Nemedius (they tell us) found only three lakes and nine rivers on his arrival in Ireland, but that before his death seven lakes more broke out, which was within a period of thirty years.

§ He is reported to have caused twelve woods to be cut down, and it is added also that four lakes more broke out in his time.

|| Men of the Caves, or Creeping Men.

returned again, to the number of five thousand, and once more took possession of their country.

These transactions are said to have happened before the year of the world 2700, but it cannot be expected that the date of them can be fixed with any degree of precision, since writers are divided in regard to their opinion of many of the circumstances which attend them.—Nor indeed is it likely that any historian of this enlightened age would risque his credit even on the facts themselves;—modern writers are inclined to think the whole story of a settlement in Ireland, down to this period a mere fable, and I see no reason to controvert their opinion; since it must be owned to carry with it all the air of a poetical fiction.

That Ireland was first peopled by a colony from Britain is highly probable, as the conjecture is warranted by its situation, and then what becomes of the voyages of Partholonus and Nemedius, and the tales of the Fomorians, not to say any thing of Noah's niece, and of those who arrived there before the general deluge.

To proceed with the narration:—these Firlbolgs are most likely to have been Belgians, or southern Britons, who settled in Ireland at a very early period, where they remained till another colony (known by the name of Tuatha de Danans) dispossessed them. These also, the Irish report to have been the posterity of Nemedius who being driven away by the Africans, had since wandered over Greece where they learned magic, and amongst other extraordinary arts, had acquired that of restoring to life the bodies of persons slain in battle, by the exercise of which, and other such supernatural powers, they became masters of the island; on which the defeated Belgians retired to the Hebrides; notwithstanding they returned again when another colony began to disturb

disturb their former enemies in the possession of their newly acquired conquest. However, joining these strangers, they were again equally unfortunate. The Tuatha de Danans were victorious, and the vanquished were kept in a most wretched slavery, in which they remained till the arrival of the Milesians from Spain, who put an end to the Dannonian government, after it had continued near 197 years, and once more restored the Belgians to their liberties.

This period of the Irish history is likewise filled with the most absurd fables about the enchantments of the Tuatha de Danans, with which at present I shall not trouble my readers.—After all, it is probable they were only Dannonian Britons, who brought with them the laws, customs, and superstitions of the druids, which the ignorance of those times mistook for sorcery, and accordingly set them down for wizards and enchanters, the people at that time being involved in gross idolatry, adoring wood and iron, and paying divine honours to the sun.—

We are now arrived at the famous æra of the Milesian conquest, the first from which we can derive any certain instruction or information.—As to what has been related above, all candid and judicious writers will own that it is involved in the mists of error, and buried in the clouds of fable and obscurity. Nevertheless, I thought it proper to give a brief recital of the stories as they are generally told, and leave the reader to determine what credit ought to be given to them, since, on the one hand, to have related them for facts must have called in question the credit of this work, whilst on the other, it might be thought too negligent in an historian entirely to omit the mention of them.

I know

I doubt not but there are some people who are so fond of fables in general, and others who are so strongly prejudiced in favour of the antiquities of their country, that they think it is scarcely possible ever to say too many extraordinary things on these subjects—In the opinion of such, it will be deemed unpardonable to have dismissed so hastily the adventures of the supposed first settlers in Ireland—I can only refer them to the waking dreams of bards and druids, or to those who have collected these tales in large volumes for the entertainment of the *curious* in these matters, I mean such as are rather inclined to read a *pleasant* story than a *true* one, and will necessarily prefer a fable to a history.

I am well aware however, that is but too true, that to authorities like these the first writers of history have been too often obliged to have recourse for materials. Where that has been the case, all that remained was for them to select with judgement the few truths which appear scattered up and down beneath the rubbish of fable;—but where instead of this, they admit, dwell upon, and even add to the improbable relations they find, they certainly become inexcusable. Yet Geoffrey of Monmouth, as well as some others have adopted such a maxim in our British history; and whoever looks over the antiquities of the Irish will find they have not been at all behind-hand with him in fables and absurdities.

Certainly, it cannot be too much lamented that those who really lived near the periods which they wrote of, have often been too ignorant, still oftener too partial, to give a true account of what passed in their time. On the contrary, they have used their utmost art to alter or disguise the truth, which they supposed never grateful without the added ornaments of fiction, even when most favourable to them, and which, when otherwise, they did

not make the least ceremony of totally subverting or concealing.

It is to these circumstances that the historian owes some of his greatest labours and perplexities, to which may be added the destruction of authentic records and the little likelihood there generally is of obtaining a clear insight into manners and customs which no longer exist, the candid reader will therefore excuse little deficiencies, and be satisfied with what can be obtained where no more authentic materials are to be had, more especially when he is informed that the copiousness of modern times will make some amends for the barrenness of the remoter periods.

I would not, however, be understood to assert that this history will always be absolutely without exception more entertaining in its progress, nor that we have here come to the end of all its perplexities, but it is most certain that we have now got through the most obscure and fabulous age as it is generally allowed to be, and it was therefore, I deemed this a proper pause for these observations, which might not be altogether impertinent before I proceeded with the history.

Milesians
sail to
Ireland.

A leader of the name of Ith, a prince among the Milesians who after various adventures had settled in Spain, drew forth a new colony and sailed from Galicia, in order to make discoveries. This Ith landed in the north of Ireland, where the Dannonians or Tuatha de Danans were then settled and having enquired concerning the nature of their government was informed that it was shared between three brothers, who being involved in some disputes concerning property, on his being introduced to them chose him for their umpire. After a very fair decision, we are informed that he told the kings he intended to return to his ship which lay waiting for him.* But having

* The number of men he brought from Spain amounted only to one hundred and fifty, fifty of whom he had left behind him at the port.

having said much in praise of the fertility of the island, the kings resolved to destroy him, lest if he should return in safety to Spain, he might bring over an armed force from thence to invade their dominions. On this account, one of these princes pursued Ith with a larger body of men than his own. Being overtaken, the Milesian and his company fought valiantly, but though he got back to the ship he was mortally wounded in the engagement, to the great grief of his little army, who, on their return, excited the resentment of their countrymen, who immediately resolved on another expedition to Ireland to revenge his death.

It is not to be doubted but ambition and a desire of conquest were motives which had their share in this undertaking.—The expedition was conducted by the sons of Milesius, (their father being dead) these brought with them a numerous body of men, who embarked in thirty vessels under forty approved commanders, and landed not without much difficulty on the Irish coast, a great fog or mist having very much perplexed them in their attempt*, at length however they carried their point, and having disembarked their men, Amergin, one of the sons of Milesius went in person to the kings of the Tuatha de Danans, and demanded a surrender of their dominions, or else declared that he would give them battle, in order to revenge the death of Ith, whom they had so treacherously murdered.

And here a strange circumstance occurs in the *Keating* history; for we are told, these princes perceiving Amergin to be a man of great judgement and candour, acknowledged that they were not prepared to fight his forces, and promised to submit to such

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* The Bards record that the Tuatha de Danans raised this mist by their enchantments, and add that thereby they caused the land to resemble a hog's back, from whence it was called Swine-Island.

conditions as he should prescribe, adding, at the same time, that if he presumed to act unjustly, they would certainly take advantage of their superior art to destroy him. On this, Amergin proposed that his Gadelians should immediately repair on ship-board, and then if the Tuatha de Danans could hinder their landing again that they should depart, but if it fell out otherwise the former should have the island delivered up to them. The consequence was that the terms being accepted, the Gadelians had no sooner weighed anchor, and removed from the shore, than a violent storm arose, which dispersed their fleet, dashed many of their ships to pieces against the rocks, and destroyed five of the sons of Milesius, and some of their best commanders; among these perished that Ir, from whom, as I mentioned above, some say the isle derived its name.—However, Heber, Heremon, and Amergin, three surviving sons of Milesius, coming on shore with the shattered remnants of their forces, engaged the Dannonians in two bloody battles, one of which was fought by Heber against Eire, the wife of an Irish prince, and the other by Heremon and Amergin against the whole force of the country: in the latter, the three kings being slain, the Milesians remained clear victors, and Heber and Heremon became joint rulers of Ireland.

There is something extraordinary in this relation; for not to mention that the storm in which the Milesians suffered so much, is said to have been raised by the sorcery of the Tuatha de Danans, it seems a little strange that Amergin knowing the trouble his people had in their first attempt to land upon the coast, should (after the enemy had confessed their weakness) of his own accord reduce them to the probability of such a risque again.—I know very well that in ancient times,

times, where Fame only was the object of contention, whole armies would sometimes challenge each other to a pitched and equal battle, but where revenge and a thirst of dominion were united, where treachery had already been used on the one side, and no dependance could be placed by the other, concessions like these were by no means to be expected, and if the Milesian chief so circumstanced really made such, his generosity was more to be admired than his prudence, and it was rather owing to chance than to any conduct of his that all the Gadelians were not utterly destroyed.

Indeed through the Irish writers have given the above account, yet if I were to offer a conjecture, I should rather suspect that the Milesians failed in their first attempt upon Ireland, and their fleet being dispersed by a tempest, they were driven on different parts of the coast, where probably they were relieved by the Firl-Bolgs or Belgians, whom we mentioned before, and entering into an alliance with them, at last proved too strong for the Tuatha de Danans or Dannonians, who little expected their return, and so became masters of the country.

This, indeed, is but a conjecture; but the account before me is such as warrants it;—the abrupt claim—the voluntary rescinding it—the tempest raised by enchantment—the shattered remains of shipwrecked forces victorious, and in two engagements deciding the fate of the island—all these circumstances strongly indicate, that something has been concealed or omitted.—In such cases the surmises of the historian are warrantable, when they are supported by probability and delivered only as such, not intruded upon the belief or judgment of the reader.—

It is here to be noticed, that these Milesians or Gadelians whom we have mentioned as conquerors of Ireland, were the descendants of a valiant tribe,

Keating.

tribe, which is said to have originated in Egypt, and according to some writers, resided there at the time the children of Israel were in bondage. And it is from Gadelas; the son of Niul, whom they aver to be cotemporary with Moses, that they pretend to derive their name and lineage. Egypt, Crete, Scythia, Gothland, Thrace and Spain, are said to have been filled with their exploits, till at length the restlessness of the Spaniards, a famine, and other concurring circumstances obliged a particular tribe among them, distinguished by the name of Breoghan, to think of seeking new possessions, which at length they found in Ireland.

[Keating intimates that Gadelas being bitten by a serpent, was cured by Moses, and that his posterity where ever they came, were ever after secure from venomous animals, so that, according to this assertion, Ireland owed the blessing of being free from these creatures to the settlement of the Gadelians amongst them, many centuries before St. Patrick was born; but one fable is as easily related as another, and both will obtain an equal degree of credit from the judicious reader.]

Warner.

It has been observed, by Warner, notwithstanding the fables interspersed among these accounts of the voyages of the Gadelians, yet the fact of their conquest of Spain, seems to be as well ascertained as any other of such an ancient date, and immediately after he subjoins a parallel of the antiquities of the Irish with those of other nations, as drawn out by Mr. O'Connor, with opposite columns of foreign testimonies and native Irish *, which

* The Authorities mentioned are as follows :

FOREIGN TESTIMONIES.

I. An emigrant nation of Iberians, from the borders of the Euxine and Caspian

NATIVE IRISH.

I. Iberian Scots, a people bordering on the Euxine sea, were expelled their seas

which tend in part to prove the truth of what the Irish bards have asserted, relative to the peregrinations

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FOREIGN TESTIMONIES.

seas settled anciently in Spain, (a)

II. A colony of the Spaniards by the name of Scots settled in Ireland, and in the fourth age of the world. (b)

III. The Phœnicians who first introduced letters and arts in Europe, had an early commerce with the Iberian Spaniards (c)

IV. Nil, Belus, Sihor, Ofihor, Toth, Oganus, &c. were famous Egyptian warriors who filled the world with the fame of their exploits. (d)

V. The Egyptian conqueror of Spain, got the emphatical name of the hero of Hercules. (e)

VI. Nil, Sihor, Ofihor, &c. succeeded to the Phœnicians, in cultivating and instructing several nations. (f)

VII. In the days of Hercules,

NATIVE IRISH.

parent country, and, after several adventures, settled ultimately in Spain. (a)

II. Kinca Scait, the Scots and the posterity of the Iberian Scots, were a colony of Spaniards, who settled in Ireland, about a thousand years before Christ. (b)

III. The ancient Iberian Scots learned the use of letters on the continent from a celebrated Phenius, from whom they took the name of Phœnicians. (c)

IV. Nihul, Bileus, Sru, Æfru, Tait, and Ogaman, were mighty in Egypt, and in several other countries. (d)

V. A great hero famous in Egypt, got the name of Golamh and Milea - Espaine, i. e. the conqueror or hero of Spain. (e)

VI. Niul, Sru, Æfru, &c. succeeded to Phenius in teaching the use of arts and letters. (f)

VII. The conquest of Spain or

(a) Ruævus ex Appian, ad Æncid, lib. Newton Chron. Dubl. edit. p. 10.

(b) Buchan passim Ware, chap. i. Histor. Dissertat. by Ward, p. 121.

(c) Strabo, lib. iii. Univer. Hist. v. xviii. Dub. edit. p. 382, 3.

(d) Newton's Chron. passim.

(e) Newton, *ibid.*

(f) Newton, *ibid.*

(a) Lebar. Gabala, passim Keating, book i. passim Ogygia, p. 66.

(b) Leb. Gab. pass. Og. p. 3, Ward, p. 318.

(c) Leb. Gab. pass. Ogy. p. 63, 221, 349. Keat. book i.

(d) Leb. Gab. ubi. sup. passim.

(e) Omnes Hibern.

(f) Leb. Gab. pass. Keating ex Psalt. Cathel, book i.

reginations of these Gadelians, who according to their account must have been extraordinary voyagers, and no less extraordinary conquerors.

Indeed were it not for many concurring testimonies, one might well be led to doubt the truth of this relation, when we considered it as coming from a set of men who were so fond of antiquities, that in their account of the first colonies, they chose to ascribe the peopling the country to Cain's daughter, Noah's niece, or to a race of men that had travelled over half the world for a course of years in search of adventures, rather than to the natives of a neighbouring island who might have arrived there in the space of a day.—However, as the story of the ancient origin of the Gadelians seems better supported, I shall not pretend to deny it; but at the same time, I could not prevail on myself with Keating, to relate their treaty with Moses in Egypt, nor follow them through the long succession of their adventures, as exhibited by the ancient bards in their heroic tales, which have already furnished us with such a number of fictions.

Heber and
Hereimon

Heber and Hereimon had not been long settled in Ireland, before disputes began to break out between them; the first contest they had was, to which of them a poet and a musician, whom they had brought along with them in their expedition, should

FOREIGN TESTIMONIES.

or the Egyptian conqueror of Spain, a great drought is reported to have burdened a great part of the earth.

(g)

VIII. The Hercules, or hero of Spain, is reported to be the son of Belus. (h)

(g) Newton, p. 98, 232. Ovid Metam. lib. ii.

(h) Newton, passim.

NATIVE IRISH.

together with a drought which happened at the same time, forced the Iberian Scots to fly into Ireland.

(g)

VIII. Milea Espanic, or the hero of Spain, was the son of Beleus. (h)

(g) Ibid.

(h) Ibid. Ogy. p. 83.

should belong : this however was at length determined by separating the two artists, and referring the decision to lots, when the musician fell to Heber's share, and the poet to Heremon's.— But soon after another contention broke out between them, which proved a fatal one.—It was occasioned by the ambition of the wife of Heber, who being in possession of two out of three of the most beautiful vales in the land, declared she should never rest until she was mistress of the third. This being in the division of Heremon, she prevailed on her husband to demand it, and he receiving a denial, she urged him to support his claim with the sword. The prince was weak enough to comply, and the battle of Geisöl was the consequence, in which Heber was defeated and slain, and Heremon became sole monarch of the whole island ; nevertheless he was frequently disturbed and his claim contested ; and in one of these disputes Amergin, his only surviving brother was slain, with whom ended all the factions of his time, and peace was restored to the land.

But this peace was interrupted by an invasion of the Britons, who ravaged some parts of the province of Leinster, and making use of poisoned weapons, as the Irish report, began to grow very formidable to them ; nor did they get rid of these interlopers, till a body of Picts* seeking habitations landed on their coasts.—These being a warlike

* These Picts, say the old records, were a people of Thrace, to the king of which country they were subsidaries ; but the Thracian monarch plotting to debauch their general's daughter they destroyed him, and withdrew to France, but the lady being very beautiful, was soon in the same danger from the king of that country, which design being likewise discovered by the

general, he seized on some French ships, and standing off to sea, landed at Wexford.—They add that these Picts shewed their hosts a method of curing the wounds inflicted by the poisoned weapons of the Britons, which was no other than that of using the milk of certain white-faced cows by way of outward application.

warlike people, they associated with them against their enemies, who being unable to withstand their united forces, were defeated and driven back again, and thus the country was delivered from their depredations.

But when the Picts had thus served their allies, they began also to think of serving themselves. As they liked the island, they designed to get possession at least of the province of Leinster, and to make it a retreat for them after all their wanderings. — Heremon having notice given him of their intentions, put himself at the head of such a force as they could not resist; thereupon these new comers sued for peace, which was granted, but on condition that they should quit Ireland with all convenient speed: at the same time it was intimated to them, that there were several islands to the north-eastward, where they might make a settlement. To this proposal the Picts consented, but could not help representing (as was really the case) that they had not a sufficient number of females, for the purpose of colonization, as these islands were represented to them as uninhabited. The Irish monarch allowing the justice of their plea, allotted them a number of widows of that country, whom they married and took away with them, having first entered into an engagement, that when they should be possessed of the government of those lands, they would give the preference, in point of succession to the female line. These preliminaries being agreed upon, the Picts embarked, and were fortunate enough to obtain a settlement in the Hebrides, and the north of Scotland where they held the dominion, through a line of seventy successive kings: “And these Picts (says a modern writer) became afterwards the Caledonian Britons whose original was from Scythia, who in
“ the

Warner.

“ the time of Agricola were a very considerable
 “ people both for number and valour, and
 “ who were remarkable in antiquity for painting
 “ their bodies.”—Though the same author is of
 opinion (and I believe with great justice) that the
 Irish writers have placed this expedition of the
 Picts too early in point of time, a method which
 they seem rather to affect through all their history,
 and which seems to be an error they have run into,
 from the high notions they entertained of the an-
 tiquity of their country. But be that as it may,
 there seems to be no reason to doubt of the fact,
 which informs us of the origin of the famous
 Pictish Nation in Britain, which continued till the
 reign of Kenneth II. of Scotland, who subverted
 their dominion and totally extirpated them from
 the Island.——

Heremon, the first Milesian Monarch of Ireland
 died in the fourteenth year of his reign, at a place
 called Airgiod Rofs, and his three sons Muim-^{Muimhne.}
 hne, Luighne and Laishne, succeeding him reigned^{Luighne.}
 jointly for three years, when Muimhne died a natural^{Laishne.}
 death, and the two other brothers were slain at
 the battle of Ard Ladbran, by Er, Orbna, Fearon,^{Er, Orbna,}
 and Fearгна four sons of Heber Fionn who suc-^{&c.}
 ceeded them, but reigned only one year, being
 slain at the expiration of that time, in an engage-
 ment by Irial the son of Heremon.---This Irial^{Irial.}
 sat on the throne for ten years, as did his son
 Ethrial after him for twenty*, Ethrial was slain^{Ethrial.}
 in fight by a son of Heber, named Conmaol who^{A. M. 3011}
 after fought twenty-five pitched battles, against^{Conmaol.}
 the Heremonian family, in all of which he was
 victor, except the last, which he lost together with
 his life, and was succeeded by Tigthermas, of the
 race

* This Ethrial is said to have and to have written the Adventures
 been a prince of great learning, of the whole Milesian Colony.

Tighermas. race of Heremnon.---This prince had continual wars with the family of Heber Fionn whom he routed in twenty seven battles, and destroyed most of their adherents. He reigned twenty three years and dying * there was an interregnum of about seven years more, after which a son of ITH, called Achy Eadgothach was raised to the throne, who made certain laws whereby the quality of every person in the kingdom should be distinguished by his dress, a slave to wear but one colour, a soldier two, an officer three, a gentleman four, the nobility were permitted to have five, and the king himself was not to exceed six colours, and of the same number might the habit of philosophers, bards and men of learning consist.—This monarch was slain by two descendants of that Ir, who was the first royal Milesians that died in Ireland. These two princes governed by turns for the space of forty years, and were the first Irish kings that came out of Ulster.--- Their names were Scormnia and Sobhairce.--- Sobhairce was killed by Eochaidh Meon, and Cearmna was slain by Eochaidh Faobhorglas, a prince of the family of Heber Fionn, in the battle of Dunn Cearmna.

Achy Faobharglas.

Eochaid (or Achy) Faobharglas, (son of Conmaol, son of Heber Fionn) was so called from the green colour of his sword and javelins. He obliged the Picts whom we have mentioned that were

* The Irish writers assert that he was the first who introduced idolatry into the island, and that he was struck dead, as were most of his people, as he was worshipping an idol that he had set up.—They must mean that he was the first of the Milesian race that adopted this practice, for we have already seen that about the time of the arrival Tuatha de Danans, the inhabitants of Ireland adored the 'Sun;' nay they even carried their ignorance so

far as to worship a ploughshare and a log of wood.

In Tighermas's reign many fresh streams broke out and the colours of purple, green, and blue, were said to have been first invented in Ireland in his time. He also seems to have laid some kind of foundation for those distinctions in dress which his successor afterwards improved, and reduced into a kind of sumptuary law.

were settled in the Highlands, to pay him homage and tribute. After reigning twenty-years and gaining many victories, he was at last slain by a prince of the Heremonian line, at the battle of Corman.

Fiachadh Labhruine, the son of Smiörgoil, the ^{Fiachadh Labhruine.} son of Eanbothadh, son of Tighernas abovementioned obtained the victory at the battle of Corman, succeeded to the crown, and reigned monarch of Ireland twenty-four years. He is said to have been surnamed Labhruine, because in his time the lake of that name began to flow. After having achieved many great adventures, among which the Irish reckon, his having obliged the Scots (as his predecessor had done the Picts) to pay him tribute, he was slain at the battle of Bealgadian fighting against the family of Héber.

Achy Mumho, the son of Moseibbis, the son ^{Achy Mumho.} of Achy Faobhorglas of the line of Heber Fionn, who slew the last mentioned prince reigned twenty-two years, and was at last defeated and slain by the son of Fiachadh Labhruine, of the line of Heremon.

This Prince was named Angus Ollmuchach. ^{Angus Ollmuchach.} In his father's life time he had shewn great marks of military skill and courage, and now having revenged his death, he reigned for eighteen years but was at length killed in battle.—In his reign many woods, were cleared and three lakes began to flow.

Eadna Airgtheach grandson of Achy Faobhorglas ^{Eadna Airgtheach.} succeeded him, who reigned with great magnificence, and caused silver shields and targets to be given to such as distinguished themselves by their military exploits.—

Rotheachta the son of Maine, the son of the ^{Rotheachta} last mentioned Angus killed Eadna Airgtheach, and succeeded him on the throne; but after a reign of twenty-

twenty-five years he was slain by a prince of the line of Ir, at Rath Cuachain.

Seadhna Seadhna who slew him reigned in his stead. This monarch was the fifth in descent. He fell by the hands of his own son, after he had governed the island for the space of five years.

Fiachadh Fionsgothach. His son Fiachadh surnamed Fionsgothach succeeded him, reigned twenty years and was killed by Muinheamhoin, the son of Cas Clothach.

Muinheamhoin. Muinheamhoin was the ninth in descent from Heber Fionn, on whose right he founded his claim to the government, which he obtained on the death of his predecessor. This monarch ordained that the gentlemen of Ireland should wear a chain about their necks, as a mark of distinction. He also bestowed helmets with the necks and forepieces of gold, upon the most deserving men in his army. — This magnificent prince unfortunately died of the pestilence, at Magh Aidhne.

Aldergoidh. Aldergoidh, his son, succeeded him, and treading in the steps of his father, was remarkable for the rewards he bestowed on merit. He was the first who introduced the custom of wearing gold rings in Ireland, which he distributed to such as excelled in the arts and sciences. — He was slain in battle, and was succeeded by

Ollam Fodhla. Ollam Fodhla the son of Fiachadh Fionsgothach beforementioned, of the line of Ir, a prince distinguished for many amiable qualities, but above all for his wisdom and knowledge. He instituted many useful laws, and is besides said to have undertaken to transmit to posterity the voyages and adventures of his ancestors, from the days of the Scythians to his own times, and was as much distinguished by the public peace and tranquillity the people enjoyed during this period, as the reigns of his ancestors had been by their wars and commotions.

The

The Irish writers assert that the Milesians, when they first went on their expedition to Ireland, bore in their standard a dead serpent and the rod of Moses, in memory of their Gadelian ancestors. However that be, Ollam Fodhla imagining that if a general device were an incentive to the army in general to behave with courage, so particular ones might be an improvement upon that plan, and cause such an emulation among the several commanders, as might be a peculiar spur to the courage of each; for which purpose he instituted a set of heralds, whom he ordered to assign a particular coat of arms to every great person, which being blazoned on his banner, might serve to distinguish him in battle, that his merits or demerits might be known and that he might be treated accordingly. For they were even attended to the field, as we are told, by their bards and others whose task it was, to notice and record their actions, which was recorded among the anecdotes of their particular tribes and family.

But above all, this monarch was remarkable for establishing the royal assembly of Teamor or Tarah, which was convened every three years to raise the laws, and to settle the records of the kingdom.—

“This illustrious assembly, says Keating, was called by the name of Feis Feambrach, which signifies a general meeting of the nobility, gentry, priests, historians, and men of learning, and persons distinguished by their abilities in all arts and professions. They met by a royal summons in a parliamentary manner, once every three years at the palace of Tarah, to debate upon the most important concerns of state, where they enacted new laws and repealed such as were useless and burdensome to the subject, and consulted nothing but the public benefit in all their resolutions. In this assembly the ancient records of the island were perused and examined, and if any falsehoods were detected,

detected, they were instantly erased, that posterity might not be imposed upon by false history; and the author who had the insolence to abuse the world by his relation, either by perverting matters of fact and representing them in improper colours, or by fancies and inventions of his own, was solemnly degraded; from the honour of sitting in that assembly, and was dismissed with a mark of infamy upon him. His works likewise were destroyed, as unworthy of credit, and were not to be admitted into the archives, or received among the records of the kingdom: nor was this expulsion the whole of his punishment, for he was liable to fine or imprisonment, or whatever sentence the justice of the parliament thought proper to inflict. By these methods, either out of fear or scandal, or disgrace, or of losing their estates, their pensions, and endowments, and of suffering perhaps, some corporal correction, the historians of those ages were induced to be very exact in their relations, and to transmit nothing to after times, but what had passed this solemn test and examination, and was recommended by the sanction and authority of this learned assembly."—

Thus far Keating.—If things were ordered with such regularity in these respects in the time of Ollam Fodhla, it were to be wished they had always been so, then had we not been perplexed with such monstrous tales and contradictory accounts as for the most part fill up the first stages of the Irish History. Though even with regard to these matters, which are extracted from the Psalter of Tarah—as it was called, many of them are such as will not pass upon every one for authentic. Indeed though this assembly might regulate such points of history, as came within their immediate knowledge, yet as to relations of a more ancient date, it is likely they received them upon tradition or left them

them as they found them, in matters which seemed to redound to the honour of their country, and where nobody was obliged to prove a negative; so that, on account of these circumstances and the negligence of succeeding princes, it is a lamentable truth that the good Ollam Fodhla lost his labour, and notwithstanding this pompous account we find great part of the Irish history at least as full of perplexities as that of any other nation in Europe.

But to proceed—Six days before the session began, the members of this assembly spent in feasting and reciprocal acts of civility and hospitality. The place of meeting was a convenient room, in the palace beforementioned, which was long and narrow, the range of seats being set on each side, and the table fixed in the middle, a proper space was allowed between the seats and the wall, and at the ends of the table for the servants to attend and pass to and fro during the feast.

A magnificent entertainment being provided, as soon as it was placed upon the table, the room was cleared, and the trumpet was three times sounded by order of the grand marshal. At the first blast, all the shield-bearers that belonged to the princes and nobility came to the door, and there delivered their shields to the great marshal, who by the herald's direction, hung them up in their order, upon the wall, on the right side of the table, each being distinguished by the particular device it bore. At the second blast, the target-bearers of the military officers attended to deliver their targets which were hung up in like manner, in other places.—This ceremony being ended, at the third blast, the kings and princes and all the rest of the company entered the apartment, and, each taking his place under his shield, the whole entertainment was conducted with the greatest good order and decorum.

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The six days appointed for feasting being ended, and the antiquities of the kingdom having been examined as above related, the several orders began to examine into the laws of the kingdom, and disputes between particular provinces and particular men were impartially determined. And first, it is to be observed, the king not apprehending that any court could exist without a power to preserve itself from insults (a secret which was left to the *wisdom* of later ages to find out) in order to give his people a just sense of the importance of this assembly, constituted several laws to secure their persons and the dignity of those who composed it; among which there was one ordinance that made it death without redemption to strike or any way molest a member of this parliament during the session:—Rapes being in general looked upon at that time as mere matters of gallantry, to suppress this depravity of the young men, a decree was passed in the assembly of Tarah which declared it a capital crime to ravish any female, and that the offenders against this statute might have no hope of mercy, the monarch bound himself never to forgive any person who should be convicted of such an outrage.—This may serve as a specimen of the spirit of their laws, which in general were just and well adapted to the manners of the people, who perhaps had never lived so happily under any prince since their first settlement in the island as under this Ollam Fodhla.*

Amidst

* The order in which the assembly of Tarah was disposed when they met in their parliamentary capacity was this: A throne was erected in the midst of a room of state, on which the monarch was placed with his face towards the east, the King of Ulster on his right hand, the King of Munster on his left, the

King of Leinster opposite to him, and the King of Connaught behind the throne; the nobility, ecclesiastics, civil and military officers, and the deputies of provinces were ranged nearest the particular districts they belonged to, and the whole assembly made a grand and solemn appearance.

Amidst the great barrenness of events which mark this period of the Irish History where it is only related of so many monarchs, that they reigned such a number of years and then died, or that they were slain in battle, it afforded me much pleasure to dwell upon the actions of the great and wise prince abovementioned, who seems to be the first that gave the Irish a taste of the blessings of peace, and governed them by equitable laws. All states are in some degree military in their infancy. We find Ireland was entirely so, and it is not without great difficulty that a military state can be reduced to peaceable order and good government. A wise legislator is one of the most respectable of characters; such was the monarch we have just now been treating of:—after a glorious reign of forty years he died a natural death, and left the crown to one of his sons, who enjoyed the succession peaceably after him.

This prince was named Fionnachta, as it is said from a vast quantity of snow that fell in his reign.* He died at Magh Inis after a reign of twenty years.

He was succeeded by his brother Slanoll, whose reign was remarkable for the healthiness of the country. He died in peace at Tara after a reign of fifteen years, but what particular disorder occasioned the death of this prince who was surnamed from the healthiness of his people, historians have not given any satisfactory information of.

Another brother succeeded him; this was Geide Ollgothach, third son of Ollam Fodhla—of whom it is only recorded that the Irish spoke very loud

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* To make this circumstance more remarkable the Irish records say that this snow when it thawed was turned to pure wine, a story

that appears to have taken its rise merely from a similarity of words, which has produced many of the most celebrated fables of antiquity.

in his time, and that he was slain by his nephew, Fiachadh.

Fiachadh,
son of Fionn-
nachta.

Fiachadh, the son of his brother Fionnachta succeeded him ;—he is said to have reigned twenty-four years, including four years that the crown was in dispute with a descendant of the former monarch who at length dethroned and slew him.

Bearngall.

The name of this king was Bearngall, he was the son of Geide Ollgothach above-mentioned ; he reigned twenty years, and was killed by a prince named Olliol.

Olliol.

Olliol was the son of Slanoll and grandson of Ollam Fodhla. He reigned sixteen years and was slain by Siorna, who succeeded him.

Siorna Saoghalach.

Siorna Saoghalach was of the Heremonian line, for he was the eighth in descent from Tighernmas the great grandson of Heremon—He was called Siorna Saoghalach from his great age. He reigned twenty-one years and was slain by Rotheachta, at Aillin.

Rotheachta.

Rotheachta was descended from Achy Faobharglas who was of the Heberian line : He ruled for seven years, and perished by fire, at Don Sobhairce.

Eilm.

His son Eilm succeeded him ; but after a reign that lasted only one year was slain by the grandson of the former monarch.

Giallachadh.

This prince was Giallachadh, the son of Olliol Olchaoín, the son of Siorna Saoghalach, of the family of Heremon—The son of the former king revenged his father's death upon Olliol, and in consequence succeeded to the crown.

Art Imleach.

Art Imleach, the son of Eilm reigned twenty-two years after the death of Olliol, at the expiration of which period Nuadha Fionn Fail slew him, and reigned in his stead.

This

Naudha, who was Olliol Olchaoín's grand-son reigned twenty years, and was slain by Breasfrigh. ^{Nuadha Fionn Fail.}

Breasfrigh, the son of Art Imleach, the son of Eilm ^{Breasfrigh.} succeeded him;—he fought many successful battles against the pirates who at that time infested the coasts, but was slain in his turn by Achy Aphthach.

Achy, who succeeded him, was the son of Fin, of ^{Achy Ap-} the line of Ith: he is said to have been surnamed ^{thach.} Aphthach* from an epidemical distemper, which during his short reign swept away a vast number of his subjects—He reigned only one year, and was slain by a descendant of the house of Ir.

This was Fionn, the son of Bratha, related in the ^{Fionn.} fourth degree to the great Ollam Fodhla—Having ruled twenty years he was killed, by

Seadhna Jonaraice, grandson of Art, of the race ^{Seadhna Jonaraice.} of Heber Fionn, a prince remarkable for having been the first to establish military discipline and that settled a constant pay upon the army. He was murdered by Simeon Breach, his successor, who barbarously ordered him to be torn limb from limb.

This inhuman wretch, who was of the line of ^{Simeon Breach.} Heremon, succeeded, but after a six years reign was seized by the son of the former monarch, who commanded him to be put to death by the same torture he had so cruelly inflicted upon his father.

Seadhna's son, Duach Fionn, reigned five ^{Duach Fionn.} years and was slain by Muredach Balgrach.

He was the son of the cruel Simeon Breach, after ^{Muredach Balgrach.} a four years reign, Duach Fionn's son Eadna killed him, and reigned in his stead.

This prince of the Heberian race, is said by the ^{Eadna Dearg.} Irish writers, to have erected a mint and coined money

D 3

money

* Aphthach in the Irish language signifies a plague, or infection.

money at Argiod Rofs. He died of the plague and was buried at Sliabb Mis.

Lughaidh
Jardhouin.

Lughaidh Jardhouin his son succeeded him, reigned nine years and was slain by Siorlamh.

Siorlamh,
the son of
Finn.

This Siorlamh was the son of Finn, of the line of Ir, and was so called from the extraordinary length of his hands : he reigned sixteen years, and was slain by

Achy Uar-
ceas.

Achy Uarceas, who seized upon the crown : this Achy was the son of Lughaidh Jardhouin. Being banished for the space of two years before he attained to the government ; he is said to have embarked his followers on board a fleet, with which he used to annoy the coast ; but in these his expeditions for greater convenience, he used certain little boats by the Irish called Uairceas, from whence surname he derived his. He ruled the kingdom twelve years and was slain by Achy Fiadhmuine.

Achy Fiad-
hmuine.

This prince and his brother Conuing Beg Aglach, jointly ruled the land.—They were of the Heremonian line, and reigned five years, after which they lost the kingdom, and Achy was slain by Lughaidh Lamdhearg son of the former monarch.

Lughaidh
Lamd-
hearg.

But Lughaidh, after a seven years reign, was defeated and slain, by Conuing who thus revenged his brother's death, and regained the sovereignty.

Conuing
Beg Aglach.

He was a prince of most undaunted courage and resolution as his name implies, and governed his subjects with great justice and moderation. After ten years ruling the land, he was killed by Lughaidh Lamdhearg's son who succeeded him.

Art.

The name of this prince was Art, who enjoyed the monarchy for six years, but was slain by Duach Lagrach and his father.

Fiachadh
Tolgrach.

Fiachadh Tolgrach, descended from Simeon Breach of the old Heremonian line succeeded ; but in seven years afterwards was slain by Olliol Fionn,

Fionn, the son of Art, of the race of Heber, who succeeded him.

Ollioll Fionn reigned nine years and was killed ^{Ollioll Fionn.} by Airgiodmhar Fiacha, and his two sons.

Achy, the son of Ollioll Fionn, succeeded him, he was slain by Duach, after a reign of seven years.

Airgiodmhar succeeded him and met with the ^{Airgiodmhar.} same fate, but not till he had sat on the throne twenty-three years.

Duach Lagrach who vanquished him, governed the land ten years, and then was slain by Lughaide Laige. Of this prince, several strange tales are related, with which I shall not trouble the reader. After a seven years reign he was killed by the prince his successor. ^{Duach Lagrach.}

This monarch was called Aodh Ruadh: he was the grandson of Airgiodmhar, and was descended ^{Aodh Ruadh.} from the family of Ir. He reigned monarch for twenty-one years, at the end of which period he was unfortunately drowned.

Diothorba, who was descended of the same family, was his successor; he likewise governed ^{Diothorba.} the kingdom twenty-one years and dying, was succeeded by Cimboath or Kimbath.

And here some of the ancient historians tell us, that the three last mentioned princes, of the line of Ir, after many struggles at length agreed that each should reign twenty-one years; and the two former having enjoyed the crown, Kimbath reigned also his time without interruption. According to this account, Macha the daughter of the first of these kings, being of an Amazonian turn, would not agree that Diothorbu, who had reigned once already, should enjoy the crown again in her lifetime, which she claimed as her inheritance.—A desperate battle, in consequence, ensued between
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this princess on the one hand, and Diathorba and his five sons on the other, in which the king being routed expired of grief. ——— And by this relation, having succeeded thus far, Macha contented herself with marrying Kimbath, and sharing the government with him, to prevent his giving her any disturbance.

Warner.

But a modern writer has pointed out the improbability of such an agreement being made for so long a term as twenty-one years between three persons, as it must leave scarcely a possibility for the third ever to take his turn of ruling; besides he observes, that Kimbath must have been above fourscore when he married the princess.

The story is related from other authorities in a manner much more plausibly, viz. That Macha being uneasy at Diathorba's mounting the throne at her father's death, in prejudice to her right of succession, though it was not a common thing for a female to enjoy the supreme authority in Ireland, raised an army, by the assistance of which she defeated him and his adherents, and the king himself was slain in the fight. The princess having thus fixed herself on the throne, married Kimbath, who was of her own tribe, and during his life they jointly ruled the country*.

Kimbath

* Keating here relates a stratagem made use of by this princess, to get the five sons of her competitor Diathorba into her power, which more modern writers do not seem to credit. It is as follows.

After a great overthrow that she had given them subsequent to the death of their father, they retired to the woods and marshes of the country, on which Macha resolved to go in quest of them: for this purpose she covered her red hair with the flour of rice, and otherwise disguised herself as much as possible: in this manner she set

forward, without any attendant, to the wood, where she supposed them to be concealed. It was not long before she found them, entered into conversation and even ate and drank with them undiscovered. After this, she found means to allure them, one by one, into a private place with her, where they hoped to enjoy her favours; but having each of them thus alone, she being a remarkably strong woman, bound them with cords she had brought with her for the purpose, and had them conveyed to court, where she produced them before the king

Kimball was a prince of great talents, he re-
 vived the laws and regulations of Ollam Fodhla, ^{A. M. 2596.}
 which had long lain neglected and almost forgotten, Kimball
 and besides built the royal palace of Eamania, and Macha.
 he reigned together with his queen in peace and
 splendour for seven years, and dying of disease,
 left her in peaceable possession of the government,
 which she held for seven years longer, but at last
 lost it together with her life, to a prince of the
 line of Heber.

And here doubtless, it will be observed that
 from the death of Ollam Fodhla, to the accession
 of Kimball and Macha, during a period of up-
 wards of two hundred and sixty years, and the
 reigns of thirty-one kings, the whole series of
 the history, has furnished little else than a genea-
 logical table of monarchs, killing and succeeding each
 other. Nevertheless, I did not chuse entirely to omit
 them, lest such an omission might make too great
 a chasm in the history, and because from these ac-
 counts, it is curious to trace how the several
 descendants of Heber, Heremon, Ir and Ith, al-
 most alternately dispossessed each other, leaving
 this useful lesson to succeeding times, That military
 force alone, can never give a permanent establish-
 ment to any monarchy, and that the contested
 claims of princes become the greatest curse that
 can be entailed upon their people.

The barrenness of events at this period is how-
 ever by some, (and not without reason) consider-
 ed as some proof of the authenticity of what has
 been recorded; and indeed, for my own part, I
 must

king and all his nobility, and relat-
 ed the success of her stratagem.--
 It is added, that instead of putting
 these five brethren to death, she

only sentenced them to erect a state-
 ly palace in her court, which terms
 they readily complied with.

must observe that when I find a circumstantial detail of what passed so long ago as the time of Nimrod, about which period Partholanus was said to have arrived in Ireland, where not only the year but the day of the month when he landed are set down, and even the names of his greyhound and his oxen recorded; I say when I find all these things so minutely related, I am inclined to give little credit to what is so unlikely to be perfectly known, and naturally led to conclude the whole a fiction.

But if notwithstanding, the reader is still but little satisfied with the barrenness of this and other parts of the work, I can only repeat once for all, that it is not the business of an historian to *make* events but to *relate* them; whilst at the same time, a history like that before us is much too interesting to be entirely neglected, on account of such incidental imperfections, of which the antiquities of no other nations, can be said to be entirely divested.—But to proceed.

Riachta-
Rigdhearg.

The name of the prince who dispossessed queen Macha was Reachta Rigdhearg, the son of Lugaide Laighe:—he reigned twenty years, but was at last killed by the foster child of Macha, in revenge for the death of that princess.

Hugony.

Ugaine, Hugony, or as some call him Eugenius, furnished the Great, who slew Reachta, succeeded him on the throne; he was the son of Eoachaidh (or Achy) Beudhaig, of the royal line of Heremon, and was a brave and enterprising prince.—He obliged the Picts to pay tribute to Ireland, and also enlarged his dominions, by so considerable an addition as that of all the western isles, which he annexed to his crown, and besides engaged all his own princes and nobles to swear allegiance to him and his posterity for ever.

As

As all the sons of this prince when grown to man's estate, affected to be attended by military followings, at the head of which, under pretence of levying tribute, they marched through the kingdom and committed divers oppressions and enormities, the Irish petitioning Hugony for redress of this grievance, he convened a council, at which it was determined, That, as the king had twenty-five children, the land should be divided into as many parts, and shared equally between them, on condition that each should bind himself not to encroach upon the territories of any of his neighbours, a division which it is said, was the rule for collecting the taxes for three hundred years after his decease. After a long and flourishing reign, this monarch was slain by a brother of his, but that wicked relation did not succeed him on the throne.

His death was revenged by a son he had by Cea-fair Cruthach, daughter to the king of France; this prince was named Laughaire Lorck; of all his father's numerous issue, we find he left only two sons behind him.—Laughaire having slain his father's murderer, succeeded to the crown, but was himself perfidiously murdered by his brother Cobthach.

Cobthach had been always treated by King Laughaire, with the greatest tenderness and indulgence, and had a princely revenue appointed for his subsistence; nevertheless all this would not satisfy his ambition. He perfectly pined and languished for the enjoyment of the crown, to which, as his brother had a son and a grandson, he entertained no hopes of regularly succeeding. His grief for this circumstance was so great that it evidently affected his constitution, and reduced him to such a condition that it was even thought impossible he should live.—While he lay sick, the king his brother, who had a great affection for him,

him, came to visit him. Being attended as usual by his guard, Cobthach demanded the reason of such a precaution, at which he seemed much offended, demanding to know whether his brother entertained any suspicions of his truth and loyalty. The good-natured king bade him make himself easy, for he had no such thoughts, but that he made use of his attendants, merely to support the regal dignity, adding however, That since that circumstance made him uneasy, he would visit him privately and unattended for the future.

Whether Cobthach then first conceived the base design of murdering his brother, or whether he had long devised it, and made use of this sickness as the means to bring it about, whichever of these was the case, he went, immediately after Laughaire's departure, who took leave of him with great affection, to consult a druid that was one of his dependants, on the most eligible means to destroy him. In consequence of his advice, it was determined, that Cobthach should feign himself dead, when Laughaire came next to see him, and then take the advantage of his near approach, to dispatch this envied rival. Accordingly when the king made his next visit alone, and, seeing his brother dead as he supposed, threw himself upon the body to bewail his loss, the infamous Cobthach stabbed him with a poignard, he had concealed for the purpose, and thus put an end to his life and reign together.

But as Cobthach by no means thought himself secure, while the son of Laughaire was living, he therefore murdered him, and designed to do the same with his grandson, on whom otherwise the succession might devolve. But having exercised many barbarities on this young innocent, and finding their effect was such as to take away his
speech

speech and to throw him into terrible convulsions, which appeared to have injured his senses irreparably, the usurper thinking him no longer an object to be dreaded, affecting mercy, that virtue to which the tenor of his infamous conduct proclaimed him a stranger, dismissed him with his life, and took no farther trouble about one whom he deemed incapable of giving him any disturbance. This young prince, whose name was Maon was conveyed to Munster by his friends; where he was reserved as a scourge for the tyrant.

Cobthach, delivered from his apprehensions, ruled over his subjects with a rod of iron, and reigned for thirty years, amidst their curses and disaffection;—all this he little regarded, he had sacrificed equally his conscience and peace to get the crown, and he valued not daily repeating the violation of both to retain it.—But vengeance at last overtook him in the height of his pride when he least expected it, and he fell a sad example of the evils attending ambition, treachery, and lawless power.

While the usurper reigned as he thought in the utmost security, a storm was gathering which at last broke over his execrable head and involved him in unexpected ruin.

The young prince Maon, after having resided for some time in Munster, the use of his speech and other faculties being restored, passed over into Gaul or France, where discovering himself he claimed a relation to the king of that country, of which his great grandmother Ceasair Cruthach, as has been mentioned before, was a native. The Gallic monarch received him kindly, and promoted him to the command of his forces;—in the mean time he held intelligence with the loyal party
in

in Ireland, * and at length, being resolved to claim the crown so justly his right, he implored the assistance of the king his relation, whole guest he was; and that prince granted him an aid of upwards of 2000 men, whom he embarked on board a sufficient number of vessels, and landed with them in the harbour of Wexford.

Having received intelligence where Cobthach resided, he resolved immediately to surprize him, and marching with all secrecy and expedition to the tyrant's court, he came upon him unprepared, and slew him and all his ministers and attendants.

Thus perished the wicked Cobthach, after he had filled the measure of his iniquity, unpitied, unregretted; Maon immediately succeeded to the crown, and was declared King of Ireland by the name of

A. M.
368a
Labra Long-
seach.

Labra Longseach; an appellation which we are told he got by his *speaking*. (when he was thought to be deprived of speech) as the Irish term denotes —Of this prince little else is related after he came to the crown, than that he invented a sort of green headed partisans, which he brought over with him

* Keating and others here relate a love adventure of this prince, with the daughter of one of the Kings of Munster, whose name was Moriat. It is said that this princess having conceived a violent affection for him (which probably took its rise while he lay concealed in that province) sent him over a present of jewels, together with a letter, when he was in Gaul, and commanded the troops of that country. The messenger was a musician, who, getting access to Maon, recited a poem of the princess's in his praise, and accompanied it with such a delightful tune on his harp as at once inspired the young chief with love and heroism; and from that time, it is said, he formed the designs of recovering his crown, and marrying Moriat, both of which he afterwards

happily accomplished.—I shall not pronounce this a fable, but only observe, it is obvious enough that the prince had sufficient incitements to urge him on his expedition, without that of love being added to them; and methinks the writer who records this story would have done his hero more honour, if he had rather attributed his resolution to a desire of avenging the murder of his father and grandfather and of delivering his subjects from oppression, than to a passion which, however innocent can by no means be accounted so disinterested.—And if the whole is to be considered as a pleasing romance, I cannot agree with Warner that such fictions are proper to fill a place in grave, historic pages; I rather think they disgrace them.

him from Gaul for the use of the soldiery, if we except a fable,† the absurdity of which, and its similarity to one in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, render it highly unworthy to be dwelt upon in any serious history. Labra reigned eighteen years, but was killed at last by a son of Cobthach the tyrant.

And here again our accounts, for a long period of time, are as imperfect as those which we find between the reign of Ollam Fodhla and that of Kimbath—I shall therefore pass over them as briefly as possible, dwelling only upon the most remarkable events recorded in the annals of those times.

Meilge Malbthach son of Cobthach Caolbreag, ^{Meilge Malbthach.} of the Heremonian line reigned seven years, and was slain by

Modchorb, of the line of Heber Fionn, who ^{Modchorb.} reigned also seven years, and fell by the hand of Angus Ollam.

Angus Ollam grandson of Labra Longseach, ^{Angus Ollam.} reigned eighteen years.

Jarn Gleofathach, of the posterity of Cobthach, ^{Jarn Gleofathach.} killed Angus and succeeded to the crown, but was himself slain by Fearchorb the son of Modchorb.

Fearchorb ruled Ireland eleven years and perished ^{Fearchorb.} by the sword of the preceding monarch's son.

This was Conla Cruaid Cealgach of the Here- ^{Conla Cruaid Cealgach.} monian line, he reigned four years, died a natural death and was succeeded by his son,

Olliol Caishiaclach, who reigned twenty-five ^{Olliol Caishiaclach.} years, and was slain at Tara by Adamhar.

Adamhar

† This fable gives an account of a natural deformity of Labra Longseach, which occasioned him to put to death all those who cut his hair, till, at last, compassion induced him to spare a poor widow's son who discovered the grand secret to a tree from whence a harp being made, re-

peated it. The circumstances of the story resemble those in the fabulous tale of Midas, but with this difference that whereas the Phrygian monarch was furnished with the ears of an ass. Labra Longseach is reported to have had those of a horse.

Adamhar
Foltchahoin

Adamhar Foltchahoin, a descendant of Heber Fionn, reigned but five years.

Achy
Foltleathan.

Eocheadh (or Achy) Foltleathan, grandson of Conla beforementioned, succeeded him, he reigned monarch eleven years and fell by the hand of Fergus Fortamhuil.

Fergus For-
tamhuil.

This Fergus was descended from Labra Longseach, of the line of Heremon;—he ruled the island twelve years and was possessed of an extraordinary strength of body, but was at last killed by Angus Turmy.

Angus
Turmy.

Angus Turmy who succeeded to the throne, was the son of Achy Foltleathan and grandson of Olliol Cairhiachlach, descended from Hugony, of the Heremonian line. This monarch being once overcome with wine, violated the chastity of his own daughter, and got her with child, of which crime he was so much ashamed afterwards, that he could never endure to be seen in public.—Yet he committed an action afterwards, which if he had judged rightly he had much more reason to be ashamed of: for when his daughter was delivered of a male child the fruit of his incestuous commerce with her, he caused the infant to be conveyed away privately, and put to sea in a small boat, where without any attendants, he was exposed to the mercy of the winds and waves: he was furnished, however, with many rich mantles and other conveniences, and a quantity of jewels were placed by him, which if any one fortunately took him up might prove that he was of no vulgar extraction. But, with all this parade, the young prince must inevitably have perished, if he had not been found by some fishermen who put him to nurse, and, according to the Irish writers, his progeny became afterwards Kings of Scotland.—Angus was killed at Tarah, and succeeded by Connal Callamhrach.

Connal

Conall was the son of Adamhar Folthoin of the line of Heremon. After a nine years reign he was slain by a prince of the family of Heber Fionn.

Conall Calamhrach.

This prince was named Niadh Seadhamhuin;—he governed the island seven years, and was slain by Earda Aighnach.

Niadh Seadhamhuin.

Eadna Aighnach was the legitimate son of Angus Turmy:—he was remarkable for his bountiful disposition, reigned twenty-eight years, and fell by the sword of Crimthan, surnamed Crofgrach from the great slaughter he made in battle, was the son of Feidhlim Fortruin, descended from Breasfal Breac, of the race of Heremon; he reigned seven years, but notwithstanding his valour, he was killed by Rugrhuidhe, or Rogerus, who succeeded him.

Eadna Aighnach.

Crimthan Crofgrach.

This Rogerus was surnamed the Great: he was the son of Sithrighe, who drew his descent from Ir.—He reigned seventy years and died a natural death at Argiad Rofs.

Rogerus

Jonahdmhar, grandson of Adamhar, of the stock of Heber Fionn succeeded, reigned but three-years and was slain by Breasfal Bodhiaba.

Jonahdmhar.

Breasfal succeeded: he was the son of Rogerus. In his time there was a great mortality among the cattle, from whence he is said to have derived his surname. After a reign of seven years he was slain.

Breasfal Bodhiaba.

Lughaide Luaghne who killed him mounted the throne after him, but he enjoyed it only five years, he was the son of Jonahdmhar, of the race of Heber Fionn, and was slain by Congall Claringneach, a son of Rogerus of the family of Ir.

Lughaide Luaghne.

Congall reigned next for thirteen years, and fell by the hand of Duach.

Congall Claringneach.

Duach next enjoyed the crown; he was the son of Carbry Loifgleathan, grandson of Lughaide Luaghne of the Heberian line. According to some of the Irish writers, his father had another son whose name was Deaghadh, or Degad: both princes

Duach Dalta Degad.

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E

were

Krating.

were equally worthy to fill the Irish throne; Duach, however, being the elder, seized on the crown; but Degad being of an enterprising spirit, resolved to dispute the matter with him in the field. But before he could draw his forces together, the king being informod of his schemes, sent a friendly message to invite him to court, and Degad who was more of a warrior than a politician, being weak enough to obey the summons, was seized and had his eyes put out, in order (as they say) to prevent his pursuing his ambitious designs.—Duach after this piece of cruelty, it is said, allowed him a handsome revenue during his life, from whence he was called Dalta Degad, or the Foster Father of Degad.

But it must be acknowledged that there is something inconsistent in the manner of relating this story, since whatever indulgence Duach might shew his brother, after his treachery and cruelty to him, he could scarcely deserve to be his called Foster Father. The reason of this appellation is much better accounted for by another writer, who tells the story in a different manner,

He says that the Degad mentioned here was not the brother of Duach; but that he was the son of that Fiacha, who was exposed by his unnatural father Angus, and taken up by fishermen. For that Fiacha had obtained a settlement in Ulster, from whence Degad having become an object of jealousy to the race of Ir, was by their means expelled; on which he fled to Duach the reigning king, who received him in the most favourable manner imaginable, and conferred such gifts and honours upon him, as caused him ever afterwards to be styled by way of distinction, the Foster Father of Degad.—After a reign of ten years, Duach was slain by Fachtna Fathach; but it is added that Degad was so much beloved by the people, that

that they elected him king of the whole province of Munster, where his race flourished in the greatest splendour, and some of them afterwards succeeded to the monarchy of Scotland.

Fachtna Fathach succeeded on the throne. He ^{Fachtna Fathach.} was descended from Rugerus, of the line of Ir, and obtained his surname from his great wisdom and learning. He reigned eighteen years and was killed by Achy Feyloch.

Achy Feyloch was so called from the habit ^{Achy Feyloch.} he had of fighting, which he is said to have contracted, on the loss of his three sons who were all slain in one battle.

He first laid out, says Keating, (but according to others) he only restored, the division of the Irish provinces, which Hugony had established as far as he was able.—And at first he divided the province of Connaught into three portions; but Achy Allas, and Fiadhaidh, on whom he had bestowed two of them, refusing a requisition of his for a spot of ground, whereon to build a palace within their jurisdiction, Tinne who held the third district offering him freely any part of the country which fell to his share, for that purpose, the king was so much pleased with his compliance, that he admitted him to a share of his most secret councils, married him to his own daughter Meaba, and finally gave him a grant of the whole province, in virtue of which Tinne made himself master of it by force of arms, and a royal palace was built according to the king's design, which was called Rath Cruachan, where public councils were held and other matters of public concern transacted. The king of Connaught having reigned many years over his province, was at last slain at Tara, after which event his queen succeeded him, and as the Irish writers say, remained ten years a widow before she was married again to Olliol More, who

was of a noble descent in Leinster. It is added that she lived eight years with Olliol, and passed a second widowhood of eight years after his death, during which last period, she was got with child by Fergus a chief of the province of Ulster, and was delivered of three boys at a birth.—But this is most improbable, considering the great age that princess must be arrived at, according to this account before her connection with Fergus.—In effect there must be some mistake, in the chronology or in the arrangement of the events, and this appears the more evident, as in another place we find it related that this Fergus was killed by Olliol More, because he was jealous of him with his queen. Indeed, it is not very likely that Olliol lived eighty years with Meaba; and that story, which is related by O'Flaherty, is more ridiculous than any of the rest, of an agreement Queen Meaba made with her husband, that she should be permitted to violate her bed, after her union with him, merely on account of her chastity and continence for which she was remarkable during her former state of widowhood.

Keating.

This princess after the death of Olliol More, having removed her residence to the border of a pleasant lake, used to amuse herself in the summer mornings with swimming, a diversion which she was particularly fond of. Forbhuide, the son of Connor, king of Ulster, being informed of this custom of the queen's, he secretly took the measure of the lake, with a line he had prepared for the purpose, which he then brought with him, and fixing two stakes at the two extremities that measured the breadth of the lake, when he had placed an apple at the top of one of the stakes, he stood at the other, and for a long time made it his practice to cast a stone out of a sling

slung at the apple, till at length he could aim it with such a nicety as never to miss the mark.

About this time there was a meeting of the principal inhabitants of Connaught and Ulster on the banks of the Shannon, at Inis Cloithrin, in order to settle some differences between the two provinces.

The son of Connor came on this errand with his father's deputies, and thought this might be a fit time to put in execution the design he had formed against the queen of Connaught.—And so indeed it fell out; for Meaba little suspecting what was intended, came according to her custom to divert herself in the lake, when Forbhuide slung a stone at her, which struck her full on the forehead, and she sunk down dead to the bottom immediately.

Thus fell Meaba by the treachery of the prince ^{Keating} of Ulster,* after having held the sceptre for a long succession of years.—And here the course of this History leads me to speak of the king of Ulster, his exploits and the remarkable manner of his death.

E 3

Connor

* There had been war for a long time between the provinces of Ulster and Connaught; the origin of the dispute, on which Keating has bestowed many pages, was a breach of faith of Connor's.----That monarch having (as it is said) confined a young female named Deirdre in a tower, in order to prevent certain disturbances which according to some prediction of the druids she was destined to occasion, a gentleman of Ulster found means to surprise the castle and steal her away;---the two lovers then went to Scotland, but the king who reigned there, becoming enamoured of Deirdre's beauty she was obliged to retreat to an island with her husband and his three brothers, where being reduced to great straits, they at last solicited succours from Ulster.---Connor ac-

cordingly, (probably not for their sakes, but for the honour of his country) relieved the place, but he was more careless of his own honour: though he had given the brothers a pardon, and even given hostages for their safe return, he issued secret orders to those who should have conducted them to his presence, to assassinate them on the way, which were accordingly observed too punctually; but one of the hostages whose name was Fergus, resenting this treachery, took arms against the king, and after various skirmishes withdrew to Connaught, where he put himself under queen Meaba's protection, and engaged her people in their quarrel.----This was the source of these contentions, and of the resentment of the prince of Ulster.

Keating.

Connor the son of Neasa, king of Ulster was one of the chief heroes of this age, but there were three others who disputed pre-eminence; these were Connall, Conguillain Laore, and Buadhach.—To end the contention Connall one day called for one of the trophies of his victories, which being produced immediately, silenced the other two champions, who acknowledged that he deserved the preference in valour and military skill which he had so earnestly laid claim to.

But this victory of his proved fatal to the king.—The trophy produced was no other than a ball of the brains of Mesgedra,* a celebrated warrior which were laid up in one of the royal repositories, partly on account of its being respected as a mark of Connall's skill and courage, and partly as the Irish Writers say, because there was a prophecy, that this ball should one day prove fatal to the province of Ulster. But all this precaution was vain; for two natural fools whom the king kept for his diversion, imagining there must be something extraordinary in the case, ran away with it, and being got to the green at some distance from the royal palace of Eamania, they began tossing it from one to another in play. While they were thus diverting themselves, one Ceat a famous hero of the province of Connaught coming by, rode up to the fools, and persuaded them to give him this ball, which he was well acquainted with the value of; and having obtained it, withdrew immediately with it into his own district.

As there was war at that time between the men of Connaught and those of Ulster, Ceat tied the ball to his belt, and used perpetually to vaunt of the

* A barbarous custom prevailed in those days, of their warriors taking out the brains of those whom they had slain in single combat, mixing them with lime and drying

them in the sun, till they acquired the hardness of stone.—And these were produced at their feasts and public meetings, as trophies of victory and badges of high distinction.

the acquisition, and threaten his enemies with it. A body of troops under his command entering the province of Ulster soon after, Connor mustering all his best soldiers made haste to meet them, and as soon as they came in sight of each other, both armies drew up in order of battle.

However, instead of coming to a decisive battle, Ceat took this opportunity to contrive a stratagem whereby he thought to put an end to his enemy's life without hazarding a battle.

For this purpose, as a great number of the Connaught ladies were assembled on an eminence, to view the battle, Ceat sent a message in their name requesting to see the king before the commencement of the fight.—Connor who is represented as a prince of great gallantry was by no means backward in accepting the invitation; and as it was to women only that he was going, he set out without a guard and entirely unattended. The treacherous Ceat perceiving that the king was fallen into his snare, ran up to him with all speed; but Connor beginning to suspect the treachery made a precipitate retreat——Ceat followed, and at last came so near that he whirled the ball of brains at him, with so exact an aim that it struck his skull, and fractured it.—However his troops perceiving their prince's distressed situation made such haste to his assistance, that Ceat was forced to fly in his turn, and was happy that he escaped with life to his own army.

Though the wound which Connor had received was extremely dangerous, yet one of his surgeons undertook to cure it.—Accordingly he took the care of the king's life, which he had skill enough for that time to preserve. But the fracture which the ball had made on the skull was attended with such an effect, that the patient was told, if ever he rode hard or put himself into any violent

passion or agitation of spirits, the consequences would prove fatal. Connor was moderate enough to observe these directions for seven years, and, during that time received no farther injury from the contusion.—The first time he broke through them, the surgeon's prediction was verified; for throwing himself into a great rage on some occasion or other*, the wound broke out afresh, his brains burst forth and he expired upon the spot.

Thus died Connor king of Ulster who was so renowned in Irish story.—Two circumstances, however must always reflect dishonour on his name, one which has already been mentioned was his scandalous breach of faith to the lovers who had his pardon, and hostages for their safe conduct; the other was, that he committed incest with his mother in a drunken fit, who actually had a child by him; but no descendants from this spurious breed succeeded in another generation, and his mother we are told soon after lost all her other children, except three, and even those three died without issue.—We only give this as a bare relation of the fact as it stands recorded, not as an instance of divine judgements which some are fond of dealing with unsparing hand, as if they were admitted of the secret counsels of Heaven.

These two things excepted, it may be allowed that Connor was both a valiant warrior and a great prince.

The sect of bards and philosophers called Fi-leahs, having not only engrossed all the learning of the age, but falsified the trust reposed in them of explaining and in a great measure of administering the laws, this abuse so enraged the inhabitants of Leinster and Munster, that they rose against them

as

* There is a ridiculous story, that the cause of his rage was the sufferings the Saviour of the world went through at that period.—But,

as the story is so inconsistent to be given up by Keating himself, it would be absurd for me to trouble my readers with it.

as with one consent, and seem resolved entirely to extirpate them from the land. On this occasion these Fileahs had recourse to Connor as knowing him to be a person of great abilities. He heard with calmness and determined with candour. Though it was evident to him that when the source of the laws was corrupted, good order must be banished from a state, yet it did not appear equally plain to him, that there was an absolute necessity to abolish the order*. He rightly conceiving that it was not likely so great a body as that of these bards should be all without exception corrupt, set some of the wisest and best among them to revise the laws, and reduce them to one simple code, which in most cases a person of a moderate understanding, might conceive the spirit and purport of. This was accordingly done, and, if we believe the Irish writers, with such success that the laws given by this sect, that a little while before was so much hated, began now to be styled "heavenly judgments;"—so great an effect has the wisdom of a king upon the morals and dispositions of his people.

Connor, though a great prince, was far from being happy in his domestic concerns, besides the stains his character had received from the two circumstances above related, he was rather unfortunate in his children. His son was guilty of a most base and cowardly action, in killing the queen of Connaught in the lake, and one of his daughters though purchased in marriage by the king of Leinster, at the expence of a large track of his own dominions, went off with an officer in the troops of Ulster, and forsook the husband who had given such strong proofs of his love by preferring

* Each bard of the first class entertained thirty others of an inferior rank.-----Every bard of the

second class retained fifteen,---and the whole number amounted to a thousand.

ferring it even to his interest. These things must have been destructive of the peace of any man of sense and feeling; and if Connor was such as the historians represent him, they must doubtless have greatly disturbed his quiet.

Keating.

The Irish writers take notice that this period was distinguished for three particular tribes or orders of knights, who graced their country by their warlike achievements.—The first of these were called chiefs or knights of the Red Branch: These were commanded by Connor; the second order had a government in Connaught and were headed by Oliol Fionn; and the third consisted of a select family called the children of Degad, from whom they were descended: These last were commanded by Conry the son of Daire, and had their abode in the west of Munster.—These tribes are said to have been so courageous and so skilled in arms that they never could be conquered but by each other.—However true this may be, it seems that many of the scenes of blood which stain that period of the Irish history, were owing to the contests of these champions, and their extreme desire of purchasing military glory*. During all this interval Achy Feyloch, the monarch of Ireland, seems not to have interfered in the provincial disputes. It appears that he was wholly taken up in grieving for the loss of his three sons who fell in battle, and their misfortune made him detest war, whose calamities he had felt so severely.

A. M. 3934.
Achy Arem

Achy Arem succeeded to the crown;—the first among the Irish, who adopted the custom of burying the bodies of the dead in graves dug in the earth, which before used to be only covered with

* The old historians give us a long account of the lives, deaths and exploits of a number of these

heroes; but they are omitted here as too tedious and foreign to the history.

with heaps of clay or stones;—he was descended from the royal line of Heremon; reigned ten years and was slain by one named Siodbecall.

Eidersgoil grandson of Degad succeeded him, ^{Eidersgoil.} but he enjoyed the crown only six years, being slain at the expiration of that time by

Nuadha Neacht, of the Heremonian line, who ^{Nuadha Neacht.} in a few months time was himself killed by the son of Eidersgoil.

This prince succeeded to the monarchy;—his ^{Conary the Great.} name was Conary, and he was surnamed *the great* from his long and happy reign, which continued for threescore years.—In his time, the royal palace of Tarah was destroyed by fire; but this prince rebuilt it in what the Irish writers call a magnificent manner.—But what is infinitely more remarkable, it was in his reign, that Jesus Christ was born, and consequently from this time the ^{Christian} ~~Christian~~ ^{Æra.} ~~Æra~~ ^{Uher.} commenced.

The father of Conary having been killed by a prince of Leinster: this monarch levied a fine upon the province, which he obliged the people to bind themselves and their successors for ever: he also insisted on having Ossory given up to him which he annexed to Munster his native country.—And thus shewed his resentment for his father's death, which was rather carried too far, and was certainly misapplied, as it fell upon the innocent more than upon the guilty.

Great encomiums are made upon this monarch, nevertheless very few particulars are related of his long reign, which at last he ended by an assault of some desperate ruffians whom he had banished the island, and who, returning with a son of the king of Wales at their head, landed in Ireland, and marched secretly to the palace of Tarah, which they set fire to, and Conary perished in the flames.

Lugaid

Lughaid
Riabhdearg

Lughaid Riabhdearg who succeeded Conary, was descended from the royal line of Heremon. He married a daughter of the king of Denmark, for grief at whose decease, as some say, he fell upon his sword, and so put an end to his life after a reign of twenty years.

Connor Ab-
raidhruad.

Lughaid was succeeded in the government by Connor Abridhruad the son of Fergus Fairge, and descended from the line of Heremon. He reigned only one year and was succeeded by

Crimthan
Niadhna.

Crimthan Niadhna who was the son of Lughaid, of the line of Heremon.—He reigned * sixteen years, and died by a fall from his horse.

Here my authorities differ in regard to many material points of history. Though Keating mentions nothing of a war raised by the Plebeians at this period, yet other correct writers have handed us down an account of that event, which interrupted the Milesian succession of monarchs, that had continued above a thousand years in Ireland §.

First Ple-
beian war.
O'Flaherty.

According to these authors, a conspiracy was formed among the lower sort of the people (chiefly the posterity of the Firl Bolgs or Belgians) to overturn the power of the king and his nobility. Their plot succeeded and Carbry, who was one of the demagogues, was set up for their prince.—This usurper held it for five years, but at his death

* Keating says it was in this monarch's reign that our Saviour was born, but Archbishop Usher and other correct writers place that event sooner, as I have done.

§ This Crimthan is said to have made an alliance with the Picts in Britain, and in conjunction with them to have made an irruption into the Roman province, from whence he brought off many trophies and much spoil and plunder. Some authors say, that in his time a chief of a faction, stimulated

Agricola the Roman governor in Britain to invade Ireland, endeavouring to persuade him that he might complete the conquest of that country with a single legion; but if the Roman had tried it is probable he would have found himself disappointed.—Tacitus relates this last circumstance, which confirms the fact, but historians differ as to the period when it happened, and an Irish writer whose works are now before me, places it so late as the reign of Tuathal Techtmar,

death, his son Moran, who was too virtuous to follow his father's ill example, renounced the government and persuaded the people to restore the royal family, which they did accordingly, and Feredach the son of the late monarch Crimthan, mounted the throne upon his abdication.

This Feredach was a man of great virtue and great abilities, and was surnamed from his uprightness *The Just*. He appointed Moran the son of Carbry who had resigned to him, his first minister and chief justice of Ireland, who acted up to his character throughout all his administration, and was careful that all the inferior judges should behave with justice and impartiality. Feredach having reigned twenty one years, died a natural death, and was succeeded by Fiachadh Fion. A. D. 35.
Feredach.

Fiachadh Fion who was the son of Daire, of the race of Heremon reigned only three years, and then was killed by the son of the preceding monarch. Fiachadh
Fion.

Fiachadh Fionluid who slew him, succeeded him, and after reigning seven years*, was slain in the beginning of the second rebellion. Fiachadh
Fionluid.

Keating says, that at a great entertainment, to which also the principal persons among his nobility being invited, shared the same fate with him; but as, upon comparing the relations of different writers, this author appears here to have confounded two stories together, I shall follow him no farther in this place; but to proceed to inform the reader from other authorities, that the monarch being slain, the crown was fixed upon the head of Elim, their principal champion, and that some of the provincial kings were concerned in bringing about this revolution. Second Ple-
beian war.

But Elim, in the end, was not able to preserve his usurped power.—The seditious people, who had invested

* Keating says twenty, but that chronology does not agree.

invested him with it, soon began to be uneasy on the one hand at his manner of administering it and the authority which petty princes in his reign pretended to, whilst on the other, Tuathal Techtmar the son of the late king Fiachadh and grandson of Feredach, having taken refuge among the Picts of North Britain, began to form schemes for the recovery of the kingdom of his ancestors.

This prince, commiserating the distresses of his native country, which besides the other evils consequent to bad government, was afflicted with a great famine, used all his interest with the Pictish king, his grandfather by the mother's side, to obtain a force sufficient to attack the usurper. An aid of soldiers being granted him by that monarch, he immediately embarked and happily landed safe in Ireland, where being joined by many loyal friends, he marched towards the royal palace of Tarah, and was there proclaimed king by a considerable body of the nobility and great men in parliament assembled.—This being happily effected, he departed in search of the usurper Elim, who had drawn out all his forces to oppose him. But the two armies meeting, that of Elim, was defeated and he himself slain in the battle. After this the prince pursued his victory in such a manner, that he soon reduced all the provinces, and made himself sole monarch of the island.—These things being happily accomplished, he called together the royal assembly of Tarah, who owned him for their sovereign, and solemnly swore to continue the succession of the Irish monarchy in the line of his posterity.—However we find that the elective form of government was not abolished, and the successors of this prince who filled the throne, were obliged to the people for their suffrages, though they had sworn that the election should light upon his family.

This

This parliament, which Tuathal had called together for the most prudent ends, proved every way favourable to his purposes; for they passed a decree for the separation of certain large tracts of land from each of the four provinces, where the borders joined together, whence under the notion of adopting this spot for demesne, lands to support the royal household, he formed the county or kingdom of Meath*, which afterwards became the peculiar inheritance of the monarchs of Ireland.

In each of the portions thus separated from the four provinces Tuathal, caused palaces to be erected, which might adorn them and commemorate the manner in which they had been added to the royal domain.

In the track taken out of Munster, he built the palace called Flachtaga, where the sacred fire called by that name was kindled, and where all the priests and druids annually met on the last day of October, on the evening of which day it was enacted that no other fire should be used throughout the kingdom, in order that all the fires might be derived from this which being lighted up as a fire of sacrifice, their superstition, led them to believe would render all the rest propitious and holy. And for this privilege, every family was to pay three-pence by way of acknowledgement to the king of Munster.

The second royal palace was erected in the proportion taken from the province of Connaught, was built for the purpose of the assembly called: The Convocation of Visneach, at which all the inhabitants were summoned to appear on the first day.

* "Though a territory of land adjacent to Visneach, (says Keating) was known by the name of Meath: from the time of the sons of Nemeatus, yet the proportion that was separated and divided, was not so

called till the time of this prince, who established it as a distinct part of the county, from every one of the provinces."---This therefore was the foundation of the fifth kingdom in Ireland.

day of May, to offer sacrifice to Beul or Bel the God of Fire, in whose honour two large fires being kindled, the natives used to drive their cattle between them, which was supposed to be a preservative for them against accidents and distempers. And this was called Beul-Tinne, Bel-Tine, or the Festival of the God of Fire. The king of Connaught at this meeting claimed a horse and arms from every lord of a manor or chieftain, as an acknowledgement for the lands taken from that province to add to the territory of Meath.

The third palace was that of Tailtean, which was erected in the part that was taken from the province of Ulster, where the fair of that name was held, which was remarkable for this particular circumstance, that the inhabitants brought their children thither, males and females, and contracted them in marriage, where the parents having agreed upon articles, the young people were joined accordingly.

The fair abovementioned had been established long before by Lugad Lamfhada, as the Irish writers assert, in memory of a queen of that name who had taken care of him in his infancy, and was held on Lammias' Day.—But no palace had been erected there till the reign of Tuathal as abovementioned. Every couple contracted at this meeting paid the king of Ulster an ounce of silver by way of acknowledgement.

The royal mansion of Tara being rebuilt in this reign, on the lands originally belonging to the king of Leinster, was reckoned as the fourth of these palaces; but as a fabric of this name had stood there before, we do not find that any acknowledgement was made for it to the king of Leinster.—

It appears that Tuathal having re-edified and improved this palace, revived also the institutions
of

of Ollam Fodhla, which we mentioned in the account of that prince's reign, and seems in many respects to have followed his steps, and administered the government in general, with wisdom and justice; though his resentment of an affront put upon him by the king of Leinster made him adopt a conduct not so reconcileable to justice as one might have expected from so good a king, though it was no more than what has been practised by some of the most renowned princes upon earth. The affair was this :—

Tuathal having given Dairine his eldest daughter, in marriage to Achy king of Leinster, that prince about a year after he had taken his queen home, made another visit to the monarch at his palace of Tarah, where he informed him with great seeming concern, that his wife was dead, and added that there was no other way of repairing the loss but that of bestowing Fithiar her younger sister upon him : this being complied with, Achy took her also home to his palace. But when that unhappy lady arrived there, she found her elder sister yet living, which circumstance raised in her such violent emotions of grief and anger, that she fell into fits, which carried her off in the bloom of her years ; and the melancholy event so affected Dairine that it occasioned her death soon after ; and thus both princesses fell a victim to Achy's incontinence, who was not long, however, before he had sufficient reasons to repent the treachery.

Tuathal, who was not of a disposition to put up with such an injury, resolved immediately to revenge it :—for this purpose he dispatched messengers to all the principal people under his government, representing the perfidious behaviour of the king of Leinster, and desiring they would levy troops to join him, and enable him to punish the baseness of that prince.

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The

The persons to whom he addressed himself accordingly met him with their forces at Tarah, and after this junction the monarch invaded Leinster with fire and sword. Achy had at first proposed to meet him in the field, but finding, on a review of his forces, that he should stand no chance of victory, if the troops engaged, he changed his conduct, and begged a cessation of arms, the consequence of which was, that the contending princes entered into a peaceful treaty. Tuathal Techmar was merciful enough to grant a peace, when he might have destroyed the country, but the terms he imposed were such as must be confessed to bear hard upon the province; for he demanded that the king and people of Leinster, should bind themselves by a solemn engagement, which should oblige them and their successors for ever to pay to himself and the succeeding monarchs of Ireland, three thousand cows, three thousand hogs, three thousand sheep, three thousand ounces of silver, and the same number of copper cauldrons and mantles *. To this perpetual tribute Achy and his people agreed in their distress; but it was only because they could not do otherwise without exposing themselves to absolute ruin; but in after-times whenever the kings his successors found opportunity, they exerted all their strength to shake off the imposition, which occasioned many bloody wars between the kings of Ireland and the princes of that district, and seems to have caused such a disaffection in the whole province to the monarchs and their government, that the people of Leinster gave the greatest encouragement to foreign invaders, and helped at last effectually to overthrow the independancy of the kingdom.

Borumran
tribute esta-
blished.

* One third part of this subsidy was to be paid to the people of Meath, the monarch's own territory; one third to the people of Con-

naught, and the other third to the Nials or Neals of the north: all these assisted the monarch in his expedition.

It is to be observed here, that one of the best and wisest of the ancient Irish monarchs by this rash step laid the foundation of the future calamities, and final reduction of his country. A true portrait of the imperfection of human nature, and an excellent lesson for princes never to let private interests, or private passions, prevail on them to forget the good of their people, for which alone they were primitively constituted.

Tuathal, during his reign, made many regulations, some of which related to arts and manufactures; and encouraged the Milesians to become tradesmen, who hitherto had disdained such occupations and left them entirely to the poor remains of the Belgians, and Tuatha de Danans; for which purpose he appointed committees of trade, that honoured or disgraced the manufacturers according to their merits or demerits; which was a wise institution, and paved the way to bring in time more riches to the monarch's coffer than all the Boromæan tribute.—Tuathal Techtmar was last slain by his successor, Mal, the son of Rugruidh.

This Mal was descended from Ir, the royal Milesian; he reigned but four years, and was slain by Feadlim Reachtmar.

Feadlim Reachtmar, was the son of Tuathal Techtmar. There is little more related of this monarch than that he established the law of retaliation, and had a happiness denied to many greater monarchs, namely, that of dying a natural death, after a ten years reign.

A. D.
164.
Feadlim
Reachtmar.

Cathir, surnamed the Great, for what reason we know not, unless on account of his great riches, succeeded Feadlim. He was descended from the line of Heremon. After a reign of near three years, he was slain by Conn, who succeeded him on the throne.

F 2

Conn

Conn Cead
Catha.h.

Conn Cead Cathach, called the hero of the hundred battles, taking into his hands the reins of government; demanded the Boromæan tribute, which the king of Leinster refusing to pay, the monarch prepared to recover it by force of arms; but he was vanquished in two engagements, and had the mortification to see his rival advance as far as the palace of Tarah, which he took and absolutely kept possession of for four years.—However, being a prince whose spirit was not easily broken by disappointments, he at length once more collected his friends and followers, regained at once his palace and his honour, and in the end, having defeated the king of Leinster in several engagements, obliged him to pay the tribute required, which however, was still only reserved for a subject of contention at some fitter opportunity.

But this was not the only dispute in which Conn involved himself and his kingdom. As warlike princes are so intoxicated with glory, so the reader must not expect the “Hero of an hundred battles,” to reign in peace and tranquility. This monarch soon found another occasion to draw his sword, in order to take part in a quarrel, his interfering in which went near to cost him his kingdom. For the descendants of Degad (who was fostered by Duach) having got footing in Munster, to the prejudice of the Heberian line. Mogha Nuadat, a prince of the last-mentioned family, who was also styled Eugene; contracting an alliance with a son of Cathir the Great, that held the government of Munster, obtained an aid of troops from that prince to assist him in a design he had of driving all the posterity of Degad out of the kingdom.—He had no sooner taken the field with his preparation, than king Angus met him, and a bloody engagement ensued, in which, however, that prince was entirely defeated, and Eugene drove his enemies out of the province.

The

The vanquished prince, on this, immediately applied to Conn for protection and assistance, and that monarch taking up his cause, lent him one thousand five hundred men; but these likewise were defeated by Eugene; however Conn continued the war, and according to the old history, at length defeated Eugene, and obliged him to quit the island. Nevertheless, according to the same accounts, after a nine years exile, he returned so powerful, that his armies over run one half the country, and Conn was glad to compound for the other half. These divisions being distinguished by the names of Leath-Conn, and Leath-Moghad, which meant Conn's half, and Moghad's half, marked the separate dominions of the princes.— But as Eugene had hitherto been successful, and was of an ambitious spirit, the monarch soon perceived that half would not content him. His new colleague making new demands, he was therefore resolved not to yield to them, and both parties prepared for battle: but the king finding himself weaker than his rival, did not think fit to trust his cause to the hazard of a battle; but finding means to enter Eugene's camp, one morning before he arose, was ungenerous enough to kill him in his bed, and so put a period to the war.— Thus fell Eugene, who left a son behind him, named Olliol Olum, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter. In the mean time it is necessary to inform the reader, that after this event, Conn having restored the tribe of Degad to their possessions in Munster, gave a daughter of his in marriage to a prince of that family. This monarch ended his life by an assassination; for it is said that the king of Ulster, either through hatred to his person, or an ambition to his crown, caused him to be slain by a number of ruffians, disguised

disguised in the habits of women : but he did not succeed him in the monarchy.

A. D.
212.
Conary.

The crown devolved after his death, upon Conary, his son-in-law, who was resolved to increase by all possible methods the power and consequence of the tribe of Degad, from whence he was descended. To this end, maugre all opposition, he procured a prince of that family to be elected king of Ulster, a circumstance which gave them great ascendancy in that province. But while Conary was employed in contriving schemes for the advancement of his family, and other projects; he was murdered by Nemeth, his own relation, after a reign of nine years, and his assassin, after his decease, was married to his widow, notwithstanding which, in a future period, her sons took measures to revenge their father's death.

A. D.
220.
Art.

To Conary succeeded Art, surnamed the Melancholy, who held the government for thirty years. One of his sisters was first married to Conary, and afterwards to Nemeth, who assassinated him; another called Saba, the widow of Mac Niled, by whom she had a son called Mac Conn, afterwards became the wife of Olliol Olum. The race of Conn Cead Cathach, at this time formed a powerful faction; and Art, the Melancholy, does not seem from the accounts given of him in history, to have been a prince fit to cure the maladies of a distracted state, which in the end proved the cause of his destruction.

Olliol Olum, at this period king of Munster, having banished Mac Con, his chief judge, for an abuse that he had been guilty of in the execution of his office, for which purpose, (as Warner observes) it is likely he was obliged to have recourse to the power of the monarch: the exile being of a factious disposition, applied himself to Bein Brit, prince of Wales, to supply him with a
body

body of troops to enable him to make a descent on Ireland, and Mac Conn having besides enlisted under his banners a numerous army, collected from different nations, and having provided transports proper for his purpose, he embarked again for Ireland, and without meeting with any interruption, landed on the coast, and sent a challenge to the Irish monarch,—not to meet him hand to hand,—but to decide the quarrel by a general engagement. Immediately on receiving this defiance, the monarch sent for Olliol Olum out of Munster, who made no delay to join him;—as he had made very close connexions with the sons of Connary, whose sister he had married; he called them also to his assistance, to suppress Mac Conn, who was supported in the rebellion by their father's assassin. By these means, Art saw himself at the head of a large force; but the leader of the militia, on whom he chiefly depended, most unexpectedly refused to join him at his greatest need; and besides seduced many of his officers from their allegiance. This chief of the militia was named Fin, and is asserted to be the same who is styled Fingal, in the poems of Ossian, and has been represented there as a hero of Caledonian birth.

Surrounded thus by foreign and domestic enemies, Art had but a melancholy prospect on the day of battle. However, having been roused from that reverie, which he seemed to have been lulled into before, he shook off the gloom that till then had hung upon his spirits, and having solemnly execrated his perfidious general, prepared with ardour for the expected fight.

A terrible engagement ensued, and victory long remained doubtful, but at length Art was killed by Lugad, a brother of Olliol Olum, who notwithstanding the bond of blood, had taken a different part in the dispute. This Lugad is re-

ported to have been a warrior of so savage a disposition, that when once warmed to action, he could not even distinguish friends from foes ; and his prowess in those days was deemed to be irresistible.

Among the slain, besides the monarch Art, were the king of Connaught, and five sons of Ollioll Olum, who claimed the same mother as the rebel chief, but were not spared upon this bloody day.

A. D. 250.
Mac Conn. Within a few days, Mac Conn, who knew how to use his victory, triumphed over all his enemies, and in his turn gave to Ireland a monarch of the race of Ith, the royal Milesian. After a reign of three years, Cormac the son of Art, caused him to be assassinated, in revenge for his rebellion against his father.—And thus ended his usurpation.

But here I must interrupt the course of the narration a while, to take notice of an event, which ought by no means to be omitted in a history like this. It is no less than the migration of a colony, from Ireland to Scotland ; which happened in the third century.

Origin of
the Dalri-
das in Scot-
land. —
Bede.
Keating.
Warner.

Among the sons of Ollioll Olum, there was one who was known by the distinguished name of Achy Ruada or Riada, who was permitted by Ollioll to raise a sufficient body of forces, to establish himself in the province of Ulster. Fergus, then king of that territory, being of the family, favoured him and his followers, who were of the race of Degad ; and by the assistance Achy Ruada procured, he soon settled himself in Ulster, notwithstanding all the opposition of the Irians ; and from this circumstance, the acquisition they made took the name of Dalriada *, or the portion of Riada ; but as Achy was one of those that, having

* Dal or Deal signifying in the Dalriada, q. d. Riada's share or division. Hence

having much, still grasp at more, observing a country over against his district, which appeared easy of access, he embarked with his followers, and either by force or treaty, (much more likely by the latter) he obtained a settlement there also for his tribe from the British Picts; and that track of land was afterwards for many ages denominated the *Albanian Dalriada*,—a name given to the inhabitants of Argyle, who were descended from this Irish colony.

A modern writer * has indeed endeavoured to overthrow this and all other accounts of any settlement of the Irish in Scotland; but he has only *endeavoured* it; for all the arguments that learned gentleman has used have been fully refuted in a still later publication.—In effect, it has been proved, notwithstanding all the bold assertions of the former—That it appears from the best authorities, there was such a migration, about the time above-mentioned;—that the name of Dalriada is consistently with the rules of the Erse language, to be explained as in our former note;—and that all other hypothesises to account for this name, are vague and insufficient.—Thus we may fairly conclude, that the Irish writers have not deceived us in this point, if any faith is to be given to history, when supported by concurring testimonies.

Mac Conn having been slain, as I have related, by the contrivance of Cormac, the son of Art, the latter imagining that he had secured to himself the succession to his father's throne, made a grand entertainment for the king and chiefs of Ulster. But he did not find the acquisition so easy as he had imagined it would be; for the prince whom he entertained, whose name was Fergus, himself aspiring to the monarchy, was offended at Cormac for laying claim to it, and resolved, on this account,

to

* Mr. Macpherson.

Fergus.

to disgrace, if not to destroy him at his own entertainment. Therefore, making no scruple to violate the laws of hospitality, he ordered one of his people to burn Cormac's face and beard, which was accordingly done, and he was driven with ignominy from his own table, and from the province of Ulster. On his departure, Fergus set himself up for monarch of Ireland, and, after two engagements accomplished his aim, and was enthroned in the royal palace of Tarah.

In the mean time the rightful prince who had sullied his honour in attempting to regain that right by treachery, met his punishment in his disappointment, and the ill treatment he received from the king of Ulster. He was now a wanderer, supplicating aid in other provinces. He had in his first hurry withdrawn himself into Connaught, and afterwards he applied to the survivors of the family of Olliol Olum, yet remaining in the island. Thady, a grandson of that prince, promised him his assistance; but withal advised him, as the means of securing victory on the day of battle, to associate himself with Lugad Laga, who was reckoned invincible in arms in those days.—What is it that men will not stoop to, in order to gratify their revenge? This Lugad, the very person that slew Cormac's father, yet Cormac descended to supplicate his assistance against the king who had dishonoured him; and Lugad, pleased with being applied to, promised the prince to gratify his utmost wishes.—In short, passing over some strange fables, and extraordinary occurrences, let it suffice to inform the reader, that Cormac, Thady, and Lugad, at the head of a considerable body of men, met and engaged the forces of Fergus, himself and his brothers being all slain in the fight by the hand of Lugad, who was so terrible in his rage, that according to the Irish writers, even Cormac though now his ally, was

was obliged to keep out of his way, till the ardour that the battle kindled in his bosom had subsided. After this, Lugad presented him with the heads of the three brothers; and the prince reaped the fruits of a victory, which that old soldier and Thady purchased for him with toil and blood; being both grievously wounded in the battle.—However, the latter of these was rewarded with a track of land * on the banks of the Liffey, for the succors he had lent the son of Art, who was now by the assistance of his allies, advanced to the monarchy of Ireland. O'Flaherty.

When the authority of Cormac was fully established; he set himself to revise the laws of the country, and established such good rules and ordinances as were followed by the Irish for many ages after his death.—Besides this, he supported his royalty with becoming dignity; had a sumptuous palace †, and maintained a large body of household troops; and to add to his splendor and happiness, he was blessed with three heroic sons, and ten beautiful daughters,

The monarch, Cormac, thus blest in his offspring, was for a long time no less happy in his undertakings.—He was famous for his many military achievements; he overthrew the people of Munster in many battles; and according to the ancient historians, by his army in North Britain, gained a settlement in that part of the country, called Albania. He is said to have opened schools at

* Keating says, Thady received no reward, but such as he forced from Cormac, and tells us that prince dealt with him most perfidiously: but the story he relates is childish and absurd, and is contradicted by other authors.

† The palace of Midchaorta, where he entertained the nobility and foreign ambassadors was enlarged and ornamented by Cormac,--when thus

finished, it was four hundred and fifty feet in length; eighty in breadth, and fifty in height.--In the middle of the state room was hung a very large lanthorn of curious workmanship, and the chambers contained one hundred and fifty beds, besides the beds of state, for the king's own use; and his domestic retinue was grand and numerous in proportion.

at Tarah, and brought to light the psalter of Tarah, which has been so often mentioned as containing the records of the early periods of Irish history: besides all this he established an ordinance, to be binding upon his successors, That every monarch of Ireland should always keep in his court a nobleman, who was to be consulted in matters of the highest importance, to the prince and state; a judge, a physician, a poet, a druid, a musician, and an antiquarian, besides three other domestic officers of a lower rank, who were to be his attendants at table, and to order the concerns of his household.

But as life is chequered, and Fortune is fickle, so amidst all this greatness, he was unfortunate in one of his expeditions into the province of Munster, which he undertook in order to make a demand of a tribute from the king and people of the province, to which he received for answer an absolute refusal;—the consequence of this was an attack, for which, the king of Munster being prepared, drew out his forces, and took his station in the very sight of Cormac, who either intimidated by his enemy's resolution, or else suspecting a want of attachment to his cause in his subjects, quite contrary to what might have been expected from a prince so celebrated by his countrymen, retired in great confusion;—but the provincial army pursuing and overtaking him, he chose rather to come to terms of peace, than to hazard any thing farther, in such a situation. In consequence of which, he came to the determination of foregoing his claim, and repairing the depredations his troops had committed in Munster; and giving hostages for the performance of these conditions, was allowed to return inglorious into his own hereditary dominions.

The

The next remarkable event recorded by historians of this monarch, (whose troubles seem to have revived with the rash step above-mentioned) is, that a great person of his court, who had grievously offended him, being restored to his favour again by the intercession of a chief, named Angus, was most perfidiously treated by the son of Cormac.—That revengeful prince, who possibly had been himself, offended as well as his father, had the chief seized, while he attended the court, in full confidence of the pardon he had obtained, and caused both his eyes to be put out. This action so much provoked Angus, who had been his surety, that (perhaps without distinguishing the innocent from the guilty) he resolved immediately to raise an insurrection against Cormac, whose son he slew as he stood by his side; and almost at the same instant, struck out one of the king's eyes with his javelin. But he had not to do with one who was unacquainted either with battles or misfortunes; he only *irritated*, not *dismayed* the monarch, who encouraging the troops, which even then stood round him, at their head made a dreadful slaughter of the rebels, and Angus himself, notwithstanding the proofs he had shewn of his personal prowess, was obliged to take refuge in the court of the king of Munster.

Carbry Liffeschar, his son, succeeded to the throne, even in his father's life-time; at whose hands he then received a book, written by himself, which was stiled, "Advice to kings;" and which we find asserted upon good authority, to have been in being so late as 1670.—Yet Cabry, after his father's demise, suffered the government to be administered by Achy Gunad, after whose death he again re-ascended the throne; a circumstance which we do not find accounted for in history.

A. D.

279.

Carbry Liffeschar.

But

But that the reader may not be surprised to see Cormac after his victory resigning the monarchy to his son, it must be observed, that though he conquered the rebels, yet he lost an eye in the engagement, which blemish in his person, according to the customs of Ireland, rendered it highly improper for him any longer to sit upon the throne: a custom which, however, must be deemed a very unreasonable one, when it is considered how much and how often their kings, being such heroes as they represent them, and fond of snatching all occasions to prove their prowess, must be exposed to the misfortunes of war.

However, all nations have their peculiar institutions; and we do not hear that Cormac was by any means mortified with submitting to this strange one of his own country;—divesting himself of his former royalty, he committed the government of Ireland to his son Carbry, as we have mentioned, himself withdrawing to a little house at Annevil; where the Irish writers say, he spent his time in philosophy, and other useful studies; which doubtless must have been a source of consolation to him in his retirement, and in the opinion of some, might well be thought to have made him amends for the crown he had thus voluntarily resigned.

I cannot help stopping here, in order to take notice, that even so low as this period. (the latter end of the third century) some affect to deny that the use of letters had been introduced in Ireland. Not to repeat the instance of the book I mentioned, in which Warner is so particular as to name the person that had it in possession, there can surely be no difficulty, considering the intercourse which the Irish held with other nations before this time, to allow at least, that from these, the natives might have learned the use of letters, though
it

it be denied that their Milesian ancestors first imported them into the island.

While Cormac remained in this retreat, we are told that, by the natural lights of philosophy, discovering the absurdity of idol-worship, he banished the the druids, with all their rites, ceremonies, and implements of sacrifice, from his little household, at which they were highly offended; and the old king having one day held a very warm dispute with them about the impropriety of their worship, happening to have the misfortune to be choaked by the bone of a salmon, he had that evening for supper, we find this natural circumstance attributed to the enchantment of those druids, who thus punished him for despising their gods.—The latter part of this story, which some Christian writers have retailed to us, needs no comment; but as to the former, it is not at all improbable, that a man of such abilities as Cormac, like many of the wiser ancients, might be led by his reason, which in his retirement he was at liberty more peculiarly to exercise, to despise Bel, and his druids, and to banish their holy trumpery from his presence. For this, they doubtless both feared and hated him: but death, the end of all things, soon put an end to their fears and hatred together; and that period of time which finished the life of Cormac, established Achy Gunad on the throne; who by what means soever, he attained that high honour, did not hold it long; being assassinated before the end of the year, and when that event took place, the monarchy was again vested in Carbry —But this prince was very unhappy in his subjects.—The descendants of Fin, general of the militia, after his death fell into many disputes among themselves; and in the end split into two different factions, which kindled a civil war, and embroiled the whole nation. The cause
of

of Ossian the son of Fin, who was at the head of one of these, was espoused by his sister's husband, the king of Munster; while the other party was protected by the king of Connaught, with whom likewise the monarch took part, having previously made him his general.—A great battle being fought between these rival powers, on the plains of Gabra, the king of Munster and Oscar the son of Ossian were slain on the one side; and the king of Connaught was wounded, and the monarch slain on the other. Two sons of Mac Cenn succeeded him, and reigned jointly, but these quarrelling about the right of successor, the elder brother slew the younger, and was himself soon after slain by the militia of the country.

Such was the end of Carbry Liffechar, who yet was a prince that, according to the account given of him by historians, did not want talents for government: but in this last instance, he seems rather to have forgotten himself.—When a monarch takes a part in the disputes and divisions of his subjects, he loses his dignity, and shakes the very basis of the throne. A prince, *as such*, should have no favourites; a prince, *as such*, should enter into no controversies with his subjects.—

In the introduction I remarked, That if the Cairbar, mentioned by the author of the History of Manchester, were meant Carbry the First, then he was no other than the founder of the Plebeian war, and not a Belgian king that was slain by the Caledonian Fingal. But lest I should be thought to have treated that gentleman unfairly, I will give him another chance, by supposing he meant Carbry the Second, of whose reign we have now been speaking, it being in his father Cormac's time that Fin or Fingal flourished.—Let us see how much better this will agree with history.—We have here indeed, as mentioned above, a Cormac,

mac, a Cairbry, and a Fin : but whatever the first of these may be, it is certain that the two latter can by no means agree with the Cairbry and the Fingal of Mr. Whitaker ; for the Irish heroes are uniformly represented as a monarch, his son, and the chief of his militia. The son of this chief, Ossian, from a mere family quarrel, engaged Carbry, the son of Cormac,—Carbry is slain in the fight, on one hand ; and Oscar, the grandson of Fin, on the other.—But the author of the History of Manchester, supporting his favourite bard, has represented this Cairbar as a Belgian chief, who is intent upon overthrowing the kingdom of the British-Irish, whose troops have already put to death the monarch of the latter, in his own palace ; but both he and these victorious bands, are met by Fingal, sovereign of Morven, and chief of the chiefs of Caledonia, who though then advanced in years, kills him, and discomfits his army. So far is all this from bearing any token of the genuine history of the Irish, that there is scarcely the resemblance necessary to work up the circumstances into a drama. If some of our Northern neighbours took it into their heads to reverse the chronicles of Ireland, in order to make poems out of them, in support of their own particular prejudices : there is surely no occasion for our grave historians to follow in their footsteps, and to insist that without any one real superior advantage over their neighbours, these Caledonians should know the history of that country better than its inhabitants, who profess to have kept its records for many succeeding ages ?—To me, there appears something very absurd in this supposition ; which I shall, however, dwell no longer upon, but proceed to other matters. —

The militia, of which the above-mentioned Fin was general, in the days of Cormac, being deemed

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a body

a body worthy of the particular attention of the writers of Irish history, it would be improper to pass them over here unnoticed,—I shall therefore present the reader with a full account of their use and institution; transcribing the passage nearly from Keating, that the representation may prove an exact one, and such as may at once give an idea of the consequence of that band of heroes; and the esteem they were had in by the people of Ireland; who indeed in every age have always held military accomplishments; and achievements in arms, in a most enthusiastic degree of veneration.

A supposition prevailed among the vulgar, that this militia was composed of men whose stature far exceeded the common size; and was like their prowess, extraordinary: but this is only a fable, rejected by all persons of sense and discernment; and which probably like many other fictions, took its rise from an ill formed conjunction of ideas, not uncommon in the human mind; which makes men forget that great and large, infers not excellent. These false notions being set aside, having observed what these troops *were not*, I shall proceed to shew what they *were*, according to the accounts which we have delivered down to us from the best authorities.

Keating.

“ They were, (says Keating) no more than a well disciplined standing army, under the monarchs of Ireland, (in whose hands the militia ever was) that were kept in regular and constant pay. Their business was to defend the country against foreign or domestic enemies; to support the right and succession of their kings, and to be ready at the shortest notice, upon any surprize or emergencies of the state. They were to guard the sea-coasts, and to have a strict eye upon the creeks and havens of the island; lest any pirates should be lurking there to plunder the country, and infect the

the inhabitants : and they were established for the same purposes as a standing body of forces are kept up in any nation to defend it from invasions ; to support the rights and prerogatives of the crown, and to secure the liberty and property of the people.

The way of subsisting these troops, was by billeting them upon the country, from All-hallow-tide, to the month of May, which was the winter season ; during the other part of the year they were obliged to fish and to hunt, and find provisions for themselves. But they were confined to perform their military exercise, and to be under discipline. The officers were enjoined not to oppress, but to defend the inhabitants, from the attempts of thieves and robbers ; and to promote the peace and happiness of the people. It was their duty to quell all riots and insurrections ; to raise fines, and secure forfeited estates for the use of the king ; to enquire into and suppress all seditious and traitorous practices in the beginning ; and to appear in arms when any occasions of the state required.

For these services they were allowed a regular pay, as the princes of Europe at this day maintain their armies : for though this militia had no pay from the kings of Ireland, but when they were in winter quarters, from All-hallow-tide, to the month of May, yet, as was observed before, they had the privilege for the other part of the year, to fish and fowl for their support, which was equivalent to their settled pay ; for the flesh of what they killed they ate, and the skins they had liberty to sell, which afforded a good price.

The method of dressing their meat was very particular ; for when they had had success in hunting, it was their custom in the forenoon, to send their huntsman, with what they had killed, to a

proper place, where there was plenty of wood and water ; here they kindled great fires, into which their way was to throw a number of large stones, where they were to continue till they were red-hot ; then they applied themselves to dig two great pits in the earth, into one of which, upon the bottom, they used to lay some of these hot stones, as a pavement, upon them they would place the raw flesh, bound up in hard green sedge or bull-rushes, over these bundles was fixed another layer of hot stones, then a quantity of flesh ; and this method was observed till the pit was full. In this manner their flesh was sodden, or stewed till it was fit to eat, and then they uncovered it ; and when the hole was emptied they began their meal. This Irish militia, it must be observed, never ate but once in four and twenty hours ; and their meal-time was always in the evening. When they had a mind to alter their diet, instead of stewing their meat, as we have before mentioned, they would roast it before these fires, and make it palatable and wholesome.

And as an undisputed evidence of these fires, the marks of them continue deep in the earth, in many places of the island to this day ; for they were very large, and burned exceeding fierce, and the impression they left is now to be met with many feet deep in the ground. When any husbandman, in Ireland turns up with his plow any black burnt earth, he immediately knows the occasion of it ; and the soil of that colour is known with great propriety, by the name of Fulacht Fion, to this time.

When the Irish militia came to these fires, to dress their meat, before they went to eat, they would strip themselves to their shirts, which they tied round about their middles, and go into the other pit, dug in the ground, which was very large, and

and filled with water. Here they would wash their heads and necks, and other parts of their bodies, till they had cleansed themselves from the sweat and dust occasioned by their hunting. And this custom was very wholesome and refreshing; for they would rub their limbs and their joints, till they had forgot all their fatigue, and became as sprightly and active as when they began their sport in the morning. When they were perfectly clean, they would put on their cloaths, and begin the meal.

After they had eaten, they would apply themselves to build huts and tents; where they made their beds, and designed to repose themselves for the following night: these beds were composed and laid out with great exactness. They cut down branches of trees, which they placed next the ground, upon these was laid a quantity of dry moss, and upon the top of all was strewed a bundle of green rushes, which made a very commodious lodging: these beds in the ancient manuscripts are called the *three beds* of the Irish militia.

The constant number of these standing forces, that were quartered upon the kingdom of Ireland, was three battalions, each battalion consisting of three thousand able men. But this was the establishment only in time of peace, when there was no disturbance at home, or any fear or apprehension from abroad; but if there were any public discontents, or any apprehensions of a rebellion, or a conspiracy, if there arose any contests between the king and his nobility, or the king found himself under a necessity to transport a body of troops into Scotland, to assist the Dalriadas; or upon any surprize, or difficulties of the state, Fin increased his forces to the number of seven battalions, which was

strength sufficient to assist his friends the Dalriadas, in Scotland; and to defend the kingdom of Ireland from the attacks of domestic or foreign enemies.

It has been observed, that Fin was the commander in chief of the Irish militia, but he had several inferior officers who in their degrees exercised an authority under him by his commission.

Every battalion or legion was commanded by a colonel; every hundred men were under the conduct of a captain; an officer in the nature of a lieutenant, had fifty under him; and a serjeant, resembling the Decurio of the Romans, was set over five and twenty: but with an hundred of their militia, when drawn out by ten in a rank, there was an officer appointed over every ten of them, commonly called the commander of ten: and therefore when the chronicles of Ireland make mention of *Fir Comhlan Cead*, or *Fir Comhlan Caoguid*, (which signifies a man able to engage with a hundred, and another to fight with fifty) it is not to be understood, as if the first were able to encounter an hundred himself, and conquer them with his own hand, or the other had courage to engage with fifty, and come off with victory; the meaning is, that such an officer had the command of an hundred men, with whom he would fight hand to hand, with the same number of enemies; and that an officer, who had fifty under him, would engage with any fifty that opposed him, with their commander at the head of them.

Every soldier that was received into the militia of Ireland by Fin, was obliged before he was enrolled, to subscribe to the following articles: the first, that when he was disposed to marry, he would not follow the mercenary custom of inslitting upon
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a portion with a wife ; but without regard to her fortune, he should chuse a woman for her virtue, her courtesy, and good manners. The second, that he would never offer violence to a woman ; or attempt to ravish her. The third, that he would be charitable, and relieve the poor, who desired meat or drink, as far as his abilities would permit. The fourth, that he would not turn his back, or refuse to fight with nine men of any other nation, that set upon him, and offered to fight with him.

It must not be supposed that every person who was willing to be enlisted in the militia of Ireland would be accepted ; for Fin was very strict in his enquiry, and observed these rules in filling up the number of his troops ; which were exactly followed by his successors in command, when they had occasion to recruit their forces.

He ordained therefore, That no person should be enlisted, or received into the service in the congregation or assembly of *Visneach*, or in the celebrated fair of *Tailtean* or at *Feas Teambrach*, unless his father and mother, and all the relations of his family would stipulate and give proper security, that not one of them should attempt to revenge his death upon the person that slew him, but leave the affair of his death wholly in the hands of his fellow soldiers, who would take care to do him justice, as the case required ; and it was ordained likewise, that the relations of a soldier of this militia should not receive any damage or reproach for any misbehaviour committed by him.

The second qualification for admittance into these standing forces, was, that no one should be received unless he had a poetical genius, and could compose verses ; and was well acquainted with the twelve books of poetry.

The third condition was, that he should be perfect master of his weapons, and able to defend himself against all attacks: and to prove his dexterity in the management of his arms, he was placed in a plain field, encompassed with green sedge, that reached above the knee. He was to have a target by him, and a hazel stake in his hand, of the length of a man's arm. Then nine experienced soldiers of the militia were drawn out, and appointed to stand at the distance of nine ridges of land from him, and to throw all their javelins at him at once; if he had the skill with his target and stake to defend himself, and come off unhurt, he was admitted into the service; but if he had the misfortune to be wounded by one of those javelins, he was rejected, as unqualified, and turned off with reproach.

A fourth qualification was, that he should run well, and in his flight defend himself from his enemies; and to make a trial of his activity, he had his hair plaited, and was obliged to run through a wood, with all the militia pursuing him, and was allowed but the breadth of a tree before the rest, at his setting out: if he was overtaken in the chace, or received a wound before he ran through the wood, he was refused, as too sluggish to fight with honour among those valiant troops.

It was required in the fifth place, that whoever was a candidate for admission into the militia should have a strong arm, and hold his weapons steady, and if it was observed that his hands shook, he was rejected.

The sixth requisite was, that when he ran through the wood his hair should continue tied up during the chace; if it fell loose he could not be received.

The seventh qualification was to be so swift and light as not to break a rotten stick by treading upon it.

The

The eighth condition was, that none should have the honour of being enrolled among the Irish militia that was not so active as to leap over a tree as high as his forehead; or could not by the agility of his body, stoop easily under a tree that was lower than his knees.

The ninth condition required was, that he could, without stopping or lessening his speed, draw a thorn out of his foot.

The tenth and last qualification was to take an oath of allegiance, to be true and faithful to the king, and an oath of fidelity to the commanding officer of the army. These were the terms required for admission among these brave troops; which so long as they were exactly insisted upon, the militia of Ireland were an invincible defence to their country; and were a terror to rebels at home, and enemies abroad."—

Such is the description that is handed down to us of the militia, commanded by Fin, the son of Comhal, a body of warriors well calculated indeed (if all that is told us may be depended upon) for the defence of their country, in those times of simplicity, where each man depended on his single prowess; and where the whole must have formed a band of heroes.—Though these were called a *militia*, yet as Keating observes, they seem to have answered the purposes of a standing army, and if it appears that they have sometimes turned their arms against their prince, yet were they by their institution at the disposal of the monarch;—and of such kinds of rebellions, history furnishes us with numberless instances among the standing armies of the most arbitrary kings; events which prove how dangerous it is to trust power in the hands of any man or set of men, so prone are the best of us to abuse it.—A lesson to caution princes not to trust too much to any who have interests of their own to serve, and instruct them that military force alone
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is but a poor safeguard whereon to rely for security. —But it is now time to dismiss this subject, and resume the thread of the history.

Fiacha
Srabtine.

A. D.

297.

The two Mac Conns being slain, the son of Car-bry Lifféchar, of the old Hermonian line, succeeded to the throne. The name of this prince was Fiacha Srabtime. He married the daughter of a prince of Wales, by whom he had a son called Muredach Tireach, a prince who discovered an early genius for military achievements, in consequence of which his father made him his general, and besides established him as provincial king of Con-naught. Muredach was a prince of merit, but he was a *favourite*—Monarchs should have no favourites, it is a weakness they ought to be above indulging.—Muredach was a king—but kings are not beyond the power of malice.—The particular honours done him by his father, attracted the envy of many turbulent and seditious men, and gave them a seeming occasion to vent their complaints, and talk loudly of imaginary grievances.—Fiacha had reigned thirty years; but he had not spent them in bloodshed, and in vain attempts to conquer neighbouring states and provinces. He delighted in peace, but the misfortune was, that his subjects delighted in tumults. The family of the Collas, his brother's sons, taking advantage of the disposition of the people, resolved out of envy to Muredach to sacrifice both him and his father.—These Collas had formerly offered some indignities to the prince, and as, according to the old proverbial maxim, *The aggressors never forgive*. so how little soever Muredach might resent their affronts, these his kinsmen could never be at rest, nor think themselves either happy or safe, till by destroying the monarch, they might have it in their power to debar his heir from the succession.

As

As the most peaceably disposed kings are sometimes obliged to make warlike preparations, so it happened at this time that there was occasion for Fiacha to send a strong body of troops into Munster, under the command of his son Muredach. The prince succeeding in his expedition, returned loaded with spoils and trophies. But the king at that time lying encamped with another army near Tailtean, the Collas, who had already brought a great number of their followers into the field, under a pretence of joining him, began now to think of turning their arms against their master, whom they intended to surprize in his camp.—Fiacha was early enough advertised of their treachery, to draw out his forces, and give the rebels battle: victory however declared for the rebels; the monarch's army was defeated, and himself slain in the action.

Immediately upon this victory, Colla Vais, son of Carbry Liffelchar, was proclaimed monarch of the kingdom, but he retained that dignity, the fruit of his treachery, for no longer a term than the space of four years:

Colla Vais
A. D.
327.

For Muredach, who had all along kept together a band of brave and loyal soldiers, at the end of that term increasing his forces, attacked the usurper with great fury, and the usual success of the former attending him, Colla Vais, and his two brothers were driven out of Ireland, and obliged to take shelter in Albannia, of which country their mother was a native: leaving Muredach in peaceful possession of a throne, to which he had the treble claim of hereditary right, of conquest, and election.

Being thus established in his kingdom, Muredach used every means to make his people happy. Within three years after their banishment, the Collas, who had behaved themselves so unworthily, return-

Muredach.
A. D.
331.

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But that was not a matter of any consideration to the Collas. They proceeded to assault the province of Ulster with all expedition.—The king of Ulster having got intelligence of their designs, met them at the head of his forces, and a bloody engagement ensued between the armies, which was renewed for several days, terminating at last in the slaughter of the king, and the defeat of his troops, by far the greater part of which were slain either in the fight, or in the pursuit, which was continued with a more than savage fury: and after the battle was over, the victors advanced to the royal palace of Eamania which they set fire to, without the least remorse, and then proceeded to share the province between them.

But whilst they were thus establishing themselves in a kingdom, at the head of Muredach's forces, Muredach himself lost both his kingdom and his life, being slain by the hand of a chief named Colbach. Though history is silent as to the cause of this event, or the manner in which it was brought about, yet it is natural enough to conclude that some who supposed they had cause of complaint against the monarch, took advantage of the absence of his army in Ulster, to work his destruction.

We may here trace an instance of human policy's overshooting itself.—Keating relates a story of a prediction concerning the Collas, that if the monarch of Ireland should cause them to be put to death, his race should never ascend the throne. Now it is not at all improbable, when these brothers broke out into rebellion, and were as yet uncertain of the event, that they should procure such a prediction to be framed for their own security; and there is some reason to suppose that this prophecy had the same weight with Muredach, when they surrendered to him, as it formerly

merly had with his father ; and the Irish writers assure us that it really had. Hence we see the king conferring posts upon them, on the one hand ; whilst, on the other, he was seeking the first opportunity to remove them from his presence. This was indeed a high strain of policy, to which he sacrificed humanity and justice ; and though it is not necessary to believe that his fall was a judgment sent from Heaven upon him, in consequence of his violation of these principles, for the emolument of his father's murderers, yet we may justly conclude that while the king thought he refined upon politics, he transgressed the maxims of prudence, in thus trusting these Collas with his army ; and the event accordingly proved that he did so, since from what motive soever Colbach was stimulated to destroy him, the absence of so many of his troops must have proved the rebel's greatest encouragement.

Colbach.

Colbach was the son of Cruin Badhrafi, and descended from the line of Ir : having slain Muredach, he set himself up for monarch, reigned one year, and was slain by Achy Moimedin.

Achy Moimedin.

This Achy was the son of Muredach, and consequently of the line of Heremon ; he had a son named Niall, by a Welch princess ; and after a reign of eight years, he died at the royal palace of Tarah.

A. D.

366.

Crimthan.

Crimthan, of the line of Heber Fionn, succeeded him. He is said to have been a prince of amazing military prowess.—The Irish record, that he made expeditions into Gaul and Britain, and obtained tribute, and brought away plunder from both provinces ; but this is a matter not very likely. That Crimthan made expeditions into Britain may well be allowed ; but according to the corresponding periods of history, we find that the Picts, whose ally he must have been in this war, were

— were at that time repulsed by the Romans. Crimthán died by poison, administered to him by his own sister *.

To this monarch succeeded Niall, surnamed “Of the nine hostages;” who almost as soon as he mounted the throne, began to be impatient for military fame. He is said to have brought over succours to the Dalriadas planted in Britain, who were much oppressed by the Picts, their neighbours; and in his time (say the Irish writers) was the name of Albania exchanged for that of Scotia Minor, in order to preserve the remembrance of the descent of its first inhabitants, from the natives of Ireland, which isle was distinguished by the name of Scotia Major.

In the ninth year of the reign of Niall, that monarch went over at the head of a great army, into the northern parts of Britain, where entering in a junction with the people of the country, as well as with the Picts themselves, they marched southward, carrying devastation and destruction with them wherever they came. After this, he transported his victorious army to the coast of Armorica, or Bretagne, from whence they returned triumphant and laden with spoils, meeting with
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* In this reign an event is related by Keating, which is so uncommon in the history of nations, that it seems to deserve some notice. It is this:—the monarch Crimthán bestowed the kingdom of Munster upon Connal Rachluath, who had been educated with him; but Corc, who was the rightful heir, thinking himself aggrieved, complained of the innovation; whereupon Connal referred it to arbitration, when it was determined by the umpire, that Corc should possess the kingdom during life, but that at his death it should descend to Connal, or his heir. On this determination Connal, though in actual possession, resigned the government, waiting patiently, till, on

the death of Corc, it should devolve to him again, an event which soon after happened. It is added, that this behaviour of his so much endeared him to Crimthán, that he bestowed the highest honour upon him, delivering up his hostages of the war to him, and trusting him in every particular; “relying (says Keating) upon the integrity of a prince, who delivered up the possession of a crown that he was able to defend, for no other reason but because he had no right to it.”—Taking these circumstances as they are related, this Connal seems to be one of the greatest worthies we meet with in the Irish history.

little opposition from an enemy not prepared to receive them; for now the Roman force began to roll back upon itself, and that unweildy empire felt the first symptoms of its approaching dissolution, in the ravages committed upon its provinces.

Amongst the prey which the Irish brought from Armorica, were two hundred young children;—Patrick, afterwards the great teacher of the Irish, is said to have been one of these, and by means of this invasion, to have become first acquainted with the country, when he was carried thither captive, at sixteen years of age. But Niall, who took this young Christian, lived not to see the effects of his success.—The Irish historians inform us, that this monarch flushed with his success, resolved upon another expedition to Armorica, having concerted measures in such a manner as the general of the Dalriadas, that embarking on board his transports, which a fair wind conveyed to Gaul, the Irish and Scotch armies met on the banks of the river Loire, where they renewed their hostilities against the natives, who being unable to withstand their united forces, fled from them like a flock of sheep, seeking refuge in their woods and fastnesses, and leaving their habitations and effects to the mercy of the cruel invaders. But while Niall was glorying in this scene of ruin and desolation, he was suddenly cut short in the midst of his career, by a death that he least expected.

The son of a king of Leinster, at Niall's first accession to the throne, had taken it into his head to possess himself of the royal palace of Tarah; because the monarch made no use of it.—And he had absolutely occupied it for seven days before this piece of insolence was made known to Niall, which, however, as soon as he had received intelligence

gence of, he commanded him, but in vain, to relinquish, and some skirmishes passed between their followers before the monarch could regain the possession of his right. This prince of Leinster had besides maliciously slain the son of Niall's favourite druid, in violation of the laws of hospitality, while he was feasting at his father's house; after which, dreading the ill consequences of his deeds, he fled first to Scotland, and from thence made his way over to Gaul, where Niall now lay with his victorious army: having enlisted himself under the banners of Gabran, the Scottish chief, who made no difficulty of receiving him among his warriors; and this chief besides solicited Niall to restore him to his favour, but that monarch was so irritated against him that he would not hear of a reconciliation. Though the prince had indeed given just cause of resentment, yet he could not but hate the person resenting, and such was his wretched disposition, that nothing but blood could satisfy the inveterate hatred he had conceived against this warrior king. Watching therefore an opportunity while the troops were abroad foraging one day, he took the covert of a grove, and shot an arrow at Niall, as he was sitting carelessly upon the banks of the river Loire. The shaft was but too well directed, it pierced the monarch with a mortal wound;—he fell, and with him fell the hopes of both armies, who, as if he had been the soul of their undertakings, lost all courage, and presently returned home, leaving the conquests they had meditated, and delivering the natives from the terrors of their arms.—Thus ended the life of the hero Niall, who is not the only prince that is recorded in history to have fallen in the midst of his glory, the sacrifice of ill-spirited petulance, and private animosity.

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Dathy,

A. D.
405.
Dathy.

Dathy, who was of the line of Heremon, son of Achy Moimodin, succeeded Niall in the monarchy, which he held for twenty-three years. The Irish writers say, he also had foreign wars, in which he was successful, but received his death by a stroke of lightning, at the foot of the Alps, from whence his soldiers brought away his body, and gave it burial in his own country.—And this is all that stands recorded of this prince, who was the last of the pagan monarchs of Ireland.—

Though we are now arrived at the end of those periods which modern critics have termed fabulous. Though the most scrupulous of them will allow that some knowledge of the affairs of the Irish since their conversion to Christianity, may be obtained from historical records; at the same time they cannot but own that the monkish times had their fables as well as those of Heathen superstition, though of a different nature;—yet these latter have never been reckoned, by people of any judgment, to be admitted as impeachments of historical facts; if they were, what must become of the history of many of the nations of Europe? They must no longer be read or regarded.

I have already given the reader the heads of what has been generally advanced against the probability of the Milesian expedition; I will now only desire him to take a retrospect of the regular series of events, and the almost uninterrupted succession of kings of that race, from the time of Heremon, to the period I am treating of, and then let him judge for himself, even interspersed as it is in some places with fables, whether this history looks like a mere work of invention. The number of monarchs, of whom it is only recorded, that they reigned so many years, and were slain; the number of others, of whom dishonourable actions are recorded; the correspond-

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ing laws and institutions of the different kings, and the progress of their military subjects, all these place the stamp of truth upon the general relation of the facts, however varied by different pens, however obscured by the clouds of superposition, or disguised by the colouring of fiction.

I have related some of the fables blended with the history of those days, in the notes, whilst in the text the incidents stand simply as they appear to have happened, by which means a proper judgement may be formed of the truth, and some kind of standard ascertained, whereby to determine how far ancient story is to be relied upon. So it is not a vain task to which I invite those who peruse this work, since I have hereby given them every assistance in my power to distinguish truth from falsehood, and to acquire that habit of judging for themselves, which ought to be the end of reading in general, and which cannot but delight the genius, whilst it improves the understanding.

But as the most enlivened wits, and the most refined talents are ever useless to the partial man. I cannot conclude this book better than by warning my readers against those national and party prejudices which are but too prevalent amongst us. To which purpose I must observe, That those who, fraught with such notions, attempt the reading of works of this kind, will ever find their labour lost; and he who is not "a citizen of the world," must never expect to improve by reading the history of any particular country.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
I R E L A N D.

B O O K T H E S E C O N D.

WE are now arrived (as has been observed) at that period of Irish history, which critics generally allow may be depended upon: which is the great æra of the mission of St. Patrick, by whose preaching Christianity was established in the island, and who has, on that account, been termed the great apostle of Ireland.

A. D.
428.
Laogary.

This remarkable event happened in the reign of Laogary, the son of Niall, of the nine hostages, who succeeded to the throne of his father, and on the news of his death, was elected monarch. Nevertheless, it appears that there were Christians in Ireland before Laogary's time, though the whole island did not profess that faith. We are informed of four saints, by name, who lived in

in an earlier period, but it was not till the third year of king Laogary, that Palladius (who may not improperly be styled the precursor of St. Patrick) arrived in that country; who, however, was expressly sent to the *believers*. With this Palladius came twelve coadjutors, and all arriving in Leinster, gained proselytes, and founded there three churches; but meeting with a violent opposition, from the pagan inhabitants, the bishop, as he was called, quitted the land, and pursuing the same laudable intention in North Britain, he died among the Picts, and thus ended his labours.

Patrick having, in all probability, heard of the ill success of this mission, warmed with a holy zeal, resolved to make an attempt of the same nature himself, and having been consecrated for that purpose, set out first for Britain, where he preached but a few days; and afterwards passing over the Irish sea, arrived in safety at Wicklow;—having advanced into the country, he made a beginning of his apostleship, by converting a prince who was descended from the monarch Cormac; but Nath, a pagan chief, who had been the chief instrument of defeating the good intentions of Palladius, hearing of the success of Patrick, opposed him as much as possible, and after some time, a strong body of the pagans fell on him, and obliged him and his followers to reembark.—From thence, however, instead of returning to Rome or Britain, he sailed to an island on the coast of the county of Dublin, and from thence proceeded to that part of Ulster called Ullagh, where the Christians being taken for pirates, were all apprehended, and carried before a chief named Dichu.—The consequence was, that Dichu was not only convinced of his mistake, but also made a proselyte by the preaching of St. Patrick: and from this time forward the affairs of the Christians

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succeeded

succeeded in the island. At length the missionaries came to the royal seat of Tarah, and there converted the monarch and his whole court—It is almost unnecessary to take notice, that according to the notions of the writers who have recorded these events, such things could not be brought to pass without miracles, and therefore they have not been sparing of them upon this occasion: but as that great miracle of all—*The freeing the country from venomous animals*, is in a manner given up by the most sensible even of the Romish communion, it would be ridiculous here to dwell upon inferior ones, which seem only calculated to ornament and embellish the relation of this saint's extraordinary mission.—

About ten years after his arrival, Patrick founded a bishop's see at Clogher, but surrendered it to one Mac Curtin, who was always reckoned the first bishop of that see; and two years after removing to Ardmagh, he resolved to make that the metropolitan see of Ireland, laying out a large city there, and establishing public schools, and seminaries of learning.—Then he went over to Britain, from whence he returned with no less than thirty holy men, whom he constituted bishops in Ireland. The year after his return, he visited his see of Ardmagh, and held a synod there, and afterwards having converted the people of Munster, he did the same in that province, but had some difficulty to prevail on certain bishops, consecrated at Rome before his arrival, to submit to him as primate.—However, at length, the breach was healed up, out of regard to his great zeal, and the singular success of his labours.—But in all these transactions we do not find the pope interfering; it rather appears that St. Patrick acted as patron and patriarch of his own church.—And we farther read, that the Irish bishops went on consecrating one

one another, and that there were no archbishops there, till a certain legate of the pope, seven hundred years afterwards, brought four palls thither, a custom which was till that time unknown in Ireland.—After a seven years residence in Munster, Patrick left that province, and returned again to Leinster, where he spent six years more, and, on his return thither resigned the see of Ard-magh to Binen or Benignus, whom he appointed his successor.—These frequent journeyings and changes, as related, among the rest, have raised doubts in modern writers, whether the superiority which Patrick assumed was really and truly a primacy or not?—If we give way to conjectures, we should be led to imagine with these, that as the presence of this great light of the church was necessary in so many places, he would not wish to confine himself to any one; as he was not covetous of money, or any worldly advantage; but as I have not found these conjectures supported by any absolute proofs, I have rather chosen to relate the account as I found it, as far as I have related it at all.—But as I have omitted much, for the satisfaction of those who are curious, in regard to the transactions of the saint, I have transcribed some farther particulars concerning his life and mission, which may be seen at large in the note below *. Having accomplished his desired end

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* It was four hundred and thirty years after the birth of Christ, that St. Patrick opened his commission in Ireland, which was in the fourth year of the reign of Laogaire. He continued in Ireland sixty one years, propagating the Christian doctrine, with resolution and success, which number of years being added to the four hundred and thirty above, make four hundred ninety one from the beginning

of the Christian æra to the death of that Irish apostle, who, as we are informed, in the accounts of his life was sixty one years preaching the gospel in the island, and working miracles for the confirmation of the religion he recommended. Keating.

In the reign of Laogaire, king of Ireland, Dubthach, the son of Dughair, a poet, retained by Feargus, and Rosa, the son of Trichim, recommended to St. Patrick the examination

by establishing Christianity in Ireland; he left that country, and went to Rome, from whence returning again, he retired to the monastery of Saul, and died in a journey to Ardmagh, in an advanced age, in the year 491.

But

mination of the chronicles and genealogies of the kingdom, and submitted them to his correction; but the saint modestly refused to act in a matter of this importance, upon his own judgement, because he was not thoroughly acquainted with the antiquities of the island, and the pedigrees of the families; and therefore he addressed himself to Laogaire, and desired him to issue out his royal mandate for a convocation of the principal clergy, historians, and antiquaries of the kingdom, and in writs to express the time and place of their meeting. - The king was well pleased with the method, and accordingly ordered out his summons; and the most eminent of the three professions met, and assembled in convocation. The several genealogies and the old records were produced before the convention, who examined into their authority, with great care and exactness; but, considering the number of the members that composed the assembly, and the difficulty and the time that would be employed, if every particular person were to read over the whole, and give his opinion, it was agreed that a select committee of nine should be appointed, to whom the purgation and amendment of the chronicles might be committed, and their corrections should receive a sanction from the whole assembly. The nine deputed upon this occasion, were three learned kings, three eminent prelates, and three of the most accomplished antiquarians. - The three kings, Laogaire, the son of Niall, the hero of the nine hostages; Diare, king of Ulster, and Core, king of Munster. The Christian bishops were, St. Pa-

trick, the pious Binen, and the judicious Cairnach; the antiquarians were, Dubthach, Feargus, and Rosa. - By this learned committee were the genealogies of the principal families, and the ancient records of the kingdom carefully examined, and purged of all spurious relations, and then disposed into the archives of the island, as a venerable and authentic collection, whose veracity was to be relied upon, and never was questioned by future ages, who called this body of records, the Great Antiquity.

The annals and records being thus perused and reformed by the care and learning of this select committee, the king by the consent of the nobility, ordained that they should be committed to the trust of the reverend prelates of the kingdom, who had them transcribed in legible characters, and laid up in their principal churches for the benefit of posterity. There are many of these venerable manuscripts preserved to the present times, and copies of them to be found in the custody of the curious at this day. Such are the book of Ardmagh, the psalter of Cashel, the book of Glean da Loch, the book called in the Irish language, Leabharna Huaidh Chongabhala, the treatise of Cluain Mac Nois, the book of Fiонтари Cluana Huighneach, the yellow book of Moliny, the black book Molaiga, and several other ancient tracts, that relate to the antiquities of the kingdom. - So far Keatinge, as to the transactions of the saint: - Ware, speaking of his death, proceeds as follows, "All the early Irish writers affirm, that St. Patrick was buried at Down, in Ireland, and it is from such authorities

But, to return to Laogary;—in the early part of his reign, he transported a body of troops into Britain, to join the Picts, the old allies of the Irish, and the junction of the two armies was a signal for war and devastation: for immediately on his arrival hostilities were renewed against the Britons, who trusted in vain to Severus's wall for their defence: it was broken down in many places, and the Scots and Picts pouring in upon them like a deluge, carried off great spoil and plunder, and after exacting a tribute, withdrew. But this irruption was only the beginning of those bloody wars, which continued till the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, under the conduct of Hengist and Horsa, who routed the invaders at Stamford in Lincolnshire, and by superior force put an effectual stop to their inroads.

The next war that we find this prince engaged in, was commenced for the recovery of the Boromæan tribute, that old bone of contention between

authorities only that the truth must be drawn. Thus the bishop of Stetty, who was contemporary with St. Patrick and his disciples, (as I said before) informs us; "That when he sickened, he had a desire to go and die at Ardماغ, but was hindered by the interposition of an angel." And the ancient scholar on that writer saith, "that he was at Saul when he fell sick, and began his journey towards Ardماغ, desiring to be buried there." The writer of the third life of St. Patrick, supposed to be one of his disciples, affirms "that he sickened at Saul, and died at Down." Another writer, supposed to be St. Ele-rane the wife, who wrote the life of St. Patrick, towards the close of the sixth century, relates a battle fought between the Airtherians, and the Uliðians, concerning the property of his body, and concludes

that he was buried at Down. So doth St. Evian, in the tripartite life of St. Patrick, ascribed to him. St. Ulfan, in the life of St. Bridgid, is express in that particular; as is also Castigofus. From these, and many more early authorities, we may safely conclude to give Down the honour of containing his remains, with which several of the English writers also agree. And Cambrensis affirms, "that the bodies of St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and St. Columb, were not only buried at Down, but were also there taken up and translated into shrines, by John de Courcay, conqueror of Ulidia, about the year 1185, and to this purpose gives us these verses:
*H: tres in Duno tumulto tumultantur in uno,
Erigia, Patricius, atque Columba
Pius:*

tween the province of Leinster, and the monarch of Ireland—Crimthan, who governed Leinster, refused the payment of it, an engagement ensued: the consequence was, that Laogary's army was entirely defeated, and himself taken prisoner; nor did he obtain his liberty, till he had bound himself by a most solemn oath never to demand that tribute again as long as he lived. But being set at large, (though he was now a Christian) he made no scruple to break his oath, and according to the best authorities, was slain in battle, while he was attempting to recover what he had sworn never more to demand.

According to others, he was killed by lightning.—There is nothing improbable in this relation, if it were not set forth as one of those judgements which in the early ages people were so fond of dealing abroad.—Whichever of these deaths Laogary met with, it was certainly no more than he deserved.—But if every one met with his deserts here below, it is plain that things would be otherwise ordered than they are; and it is as plain that there would be the less necessity of, and the less strength of argument for a future state.—I cannot help remarking here, that the prince whose history I have here related, must have profited little by his conversion to Christianity, when he expired in so flagrant a breach of its duties.—Possibly, like many other great men of his time, he contented himself with *believing*, and left it to meaner souls to *obey its commandments*.

Laogary who reigned thirty five years, was succeeded by the son of Dathy.

Olliol Molt. This prince was named Olliol Molt; and he was descended from the royal line of Heremon, who continued to insist upon the tribute the claim of which had cost his predecessor so dear: it

it was refused, and a bloody battle was fought, and as the consequence was, that the yoke was not taken off, it should seem that Olliol's troops had the advantage.—But whatever his good fortune might be in this engagement, it did not continue to befriend him when the son of Laogary, who had been set aside, brought an army into the field against him. The monarch was defeated and slain, and the conqueror reigned in his stead.—And in his person we find the regal succession strengthened in the family of Niall, of the Heremonian line, insomuch that the provincial kings after this event no longer make any great figure in the history, though the pentarchy was still nominally preserved, as it had been in former ages.

Lughad, the son of Laogary, mounting the ^{Lughad} throne, we find him engaged in perpetual war.—In six battles many thousands of the Irish in his time were slaughtered by their countrymen; in one of them fell Angus, king of Munster, whom St. Patrick had converted very soon after his arrival in the country.—In this reign likewise the Dalriadas settled in North Britain are said to have been expelled from thence by the Picts, and forced to retreat to Ireland, where they first originated; but being assisted by the provincial kings, they returned again with a superior force, and not only regained their former possessions, but spread their dominions more wide in the northern parts of the island. Their army was first raised by the son of Eirk, namely, the two Fergusses, the two Angusses, and the two Lorns, all of Dalriadian extraction, and famous in those days for many accomplishments.

It is uncertain how Lughad died. One of the Irish writers asserts, that he fell by a judgement,
for

for opposing St. Patrick ; but as it appears that he survived that saint above fourteen years, the error in chronology would alone be a sufficient cause for our rejecting it ; since we are here left in the dark by the writers of history, we can only substitute our own suppositions, and by advancing a conjecture that he died suddenly, endeavour to account for the different relations.

Murketagh. After a contest for the throne, (no Roydamna being elected) which lasted for five years, the grandson of Lorn, of the family of Eirk, who had gained so much glory in their Pictish wars, was chosen monarch.

This prince, named Murketagh, was of the family of Niall the Great : he held the reins of government in the midst of wars and disturbances ; fought five battles in the space of a twelvemonth ; and after a reign of twenty-one years, died a natural death.

In the mean time his family grew great in North Britain. His grandfather, Lorn attempting the Scotch sovereignty, prevailed so far as to get himself acknowledged king of Albanian Dalriada.—The plans he had laid being perfected in the time of his brother Fergus, who out-lived him, the latter is generally esteemed as the founder of the Scotch monarchy.

Tuathal Maol Garb. After Murketagh, Tuathal Maol Garb succeeded to the monarchy, who reigned eleven years, of whom we can collect little else, than that he was born, reigned, fought many famous battles, and, expiring, made way for his successors.

It was by the instigation of his Roydamna that this monarch fell, though the former was related to him ; but where either ambition or interest bore sway, that was not in those days thought extraordinary.

Dermot,

Dermod, the succeeding monarch, was Niall's ^{Dermod.} grandson, of the royal line of Heremon, who governed the kingdom twenty-two years.—At this time there were wars between the provincial kings, though, exclusive of these, a great plague sufficiently depopulated the country.—Amongst many other engagements, there was one in which the Irish monarch was defeated, and obliged to fly for his life,—a misfortune the Irish writers attributed to his having offended Columb-Kill, one of the greatest saints of that age; and who makes a figure in the annals of their history.—They add, that the saint removed soon after into North Britain, where he founded a monastery.—After a reign, which is stuffed full of unimportant events by Keating, Dermod fell by the sword, and was succeeded by the two sons of Mortough.

These were Fergus, and Donald, of the family of Niall.—They reigned but one year, dying ^{A. D. 565.} soon after a signal victory, which they gained over ^{Fergus and Donald.} the king of Munster.

Achy, the son of Daniel, next succeeded, who ^{Achy and Badan.} associated with him in the government his uncle, Badan. They were both descended from the Heremonian line.

Ainmerach, was the next monarch:—after a ^{Ainmerach} short reign, he was slain by Fergus Mac Neill, and succeeded by

Another Badan, who reigned but one year, and ^{Bada.} then fell by the hands of two assassins, of the name of Cuinuis.—

Hugh, the son of Ainmerach, of the Here- ^{Hugh.} monian race, descended from Niall, next mounted the throne; and reigned twenty-seven years, during which time we find him employed in making many useful ordinances.—This king having called together a solemn assembly, resolved upon redressing several abuses.—The poets, at that time a large

large body of men, had drawn his resentment upon them, he therefore resolved either to reduce them to order, or to banish them the kingdom; and accordingly made some wise regulations among them, which on this occasion were very much wanted.

Another object of consideration at that time was the refusal of the Dalriadas to pay a certain small tribute, by way of homage and acknowledgement, of their descent, and the assistance they had so often received from their mother country, which Hugh resolved to enforce.

A third intention of the king was to punish one Scanlan, a chief of the county of Ossory, who had embezzled the public money of that district, and to set his son, who was a man of virtue and abilities, in his room, over the province.

The assembly before which these things were laid, perhaps from some reasons of state was not held at Tarah, as was usual upon such occasions, but at Dromceat.—To this meeting all the nobility, chiefs, clergy, and principal gentry, were invited, only St. Columb-Kill, whom we mentioned above was not summoned to attend there.

But Columb-Kill, who had a mind to interfere in the debates of this assembly, having timely intelligence, chose to appear there without a summons. Having previously withdrawn to Albania, he was almost naturalized as it were to the place, and had set out from thence, though himself only an abbot, with no less than twenty bishops, forty priests, fifty religious of different orders, and thirty students in his train.

With these attendants, this extraordinary monk landed in Ireland, and advanced directly towards Dromceat, where the convention of the states was then

then sitting, who were far from being pleased at the news of his arrival.—It is said likewise, that the queen instigated the prince her son to collect a party of the rabble, who pelted and insulted the saint and his retinue, as they marched along ;—while the saint, in return, proceeded to curse the queen, and the prince, in consequence of which one fell sick, and the other went mad,—if we may believe the monkish historians.

But at the intercession of the monarch's younger son, Donald, Columb-Kill, being admitted into the king's presence, made three requests to him *. The first was,—That he would indulge the poets.—To which the king replied, “ That though he meant to banish them, it was not out of any anger he had conceived against that order ; but on account of the great number of useless and idle persons who sheltered themselves under it ; and the hindrance of trade and other inconveniences they brought upon the people :” The abbot having nothing to advance in contradiction, only besought the king, that he would not entirely abolish the institution ; whereupon they came to a compromise, by which it was so ordered that the number of those men should be reduced, and that the remainder, upon submitting to a certain test of their abilities, and to a scheme of government propounded to them, should have leave given them to remain in the island, and to follow their profession.

The next request Columb-Kill made was,—That the chief of Ossory, who had been imprisoned

* “ He had three reasons, says Keating, which induced him to appoint this convention, but the principal occasion was to concert proper measures to expel and banish a numerous body of men who were called poets, out of the island. These professors were become very charge-

able to the inhabitants, and being of a covetous disposition, were a grievance insupportable to the people : and upon the account of the privileges and immunities enjoyed by these versifiers, from the indulgence of former kings : a third part of the whole kingdom passed under the

prisoned for his misdemeanors, should be forthwith released; but to this second request, the monarch gave him an absolute denial.

The third requisition of the saint was,—The remission of the tribute demanded of the tribe of the Dalriadas; but this, notwithstanding all his arguments and remonstrances, the king was also absolutely deaf to, and, in consequence, according to the monkish writers, their saint left him, saying, “that the Dalriadas, (his flock) were under the immediate care of Heaven, and would certainly be delivered from that oppression.”

These men add, that Columb-Kill visited Scanlan in prison, and causing his chains miraculously to drop off, lent him his own staff, with a promise that it should secure him against all the attempts of the monarch.

In the mean time the convention at Dromceat continued sitting for above a twelvemonth, and passed many salutary laws relative to the poets, and likewise to other matters; on which it had been better if the king had bestowed his attention, than on the old dispute of the Boromæan tribute

the notion of poets, and professed themselves regular members of that society: for it was a plausible cover to idleness and ease; it being ordained by law that they should be supported by other men's labour, and billeted upon the people throughout the island, from All-hallow-tide till May:—this grievance being represented to the king, he resolved to reduce their number by expelling most of them the kingdom, and by such means to redress this insufferable imposition, and satisfy the desires of his subjects.

“But the great reason that incensed this monarch against the poets, and provoked him to drive them out of the island, was for their insolence in demanding the golden bodkin that fastened the royal robes under the

king's neck, and was esteemed so sacred and unalienable, that it was carefully delivered down from one prince to another, as a royal jewel of singular worth and virtue: this unprecedented demand enraged the king; but he considered it might be of bad consequence to banish them the kingdom, and therefore he resolved to confine them to Dalriada, in the province of Ulster.”

These are Keating's own words; but doubtless the sagacious reader will see the absurdity of the demand above-mentioned, which seems rather to have been originally meant as a figurative expression, to shew the great pitch of insolence these poets were arrived at, than as a truth fit to be recorded in history.

bute from the king and province of Leinster. This tribute being no sooner demanded than refused, Hugh sent one of his sons, with a large body of men, to claim it; but his son was killed, and his troops routed, nevertheless, this did not so far intimidate the monarch but that he resolved to make a second attempt, whereby he flattered himself that he should at once recover the tribute, and revenge the death of his son. For these purposes he levied a new army, and putting himself at their head, made an irruption into the province of Leinster, but met with no better fate than his son, being defeated and slain in battle.

Another Hugh succeeded, of the race of Niall, A. D. 599. and reigned jointly with Colman, king of Meath. Hugh and Colman. Both these princes, after a reign of six years, falling in battle, one of the same stock ascended the throne.

This was also another Hugh,—he was the son Hugh III. of Donald.—He was much troubled with fits, notwithstanding which, he was a prince of great strength and valour.—Angus, the son of Colman, gave him much disturbance: but this Angus was at length totally defeated by the monarch, who reigned near twenty-seven years, and at last fell by the sword.

Maolchoba (say the Irish chronicles) was the Maolchoba, next that filled the throne, and Maolchoba reigning four years, fell in the field, as his predecessor had done.

Suibne Meain then succeeded; but with no Suibne Meain. better fate than Maolchoba, though he reigned longer.—Conal Claoin slew him, and Donald reigned in his stead.

This Donald was the son of Hugh, and grandson of Ainmerach, of the race of Heremon.—Donald. He died a natural death, and was succeeded by

I

Connal

Connal and
Kellach.

Connal and Kellach, two brothers, who were descended from Hugh the First. Kellach perished in a bog, and Connal was killed by Dermod, the son of Hugh Slaine.

Dermod.

Dermod succeeded him, and reigned, jointly with Blathmac, for seven years, after which both princes died of the plague.

Sachnufach

Sachnufach, one of their sons, was the next reigning monarch;—the Picts invaded Ulster in his reign, but, as it should seem by the records, they were repulsed with loss. At last he fell by the sword.

Cionfada

Cionfada (or Kinfaola) sat next upon the throne, in whose reign the Picts renewed their irruptions, burned a monastery, and drove out the poor monks, after which and other depredations, they retired to their own country. Fionnachta slew this prince:

Fionachta.

And Fionachta reigned after him, ruling the land for twenty years.—At this period Ireland was invaded, both by the Welch and the English. The former having gotten great booty, departed to the Orkney islands, which they ravaged without mercy; but the latter made a longer stay in the country, committing intolerable enormities, till at length, the spirit of the Irish being roused effectually, and forces drawn together from all quarters, they fell upon the invaders in their turn, and handled them so roughly that they were glad to decamp, and return again with all expedition to England.

Longseach.

In Longseach's time, who succeeded Fionnachta, the Welch taking advantage of a dreadful famine, again invaded Ireland, but were totally defeated in a terrible battle, and lost almost all their army.—The monarch, some time after this, lost his life in an action against the king of Connaught.

Congall,

Congall, who is reported to have been a pagan, was next advanced to the monarchy. He was a cruel persecutor of the Christians, and after a seven years reign died suddenly.

Feargall, a great grandson of Hugh, succeeded him.—In his time the Welch again landing in Ireland, were again defeated. This monarch (according to the custom which had proved so fatal to his predecessors) claiming the Boromæan tribute, engaged the king of Leinster in a great battle on that account, in which though Feargall had no less than twenty-one thousand men, and the king of Leinster's army amounted not even to one half that number, yet the former was defeated with great slaughter, and fell himself in the battle*.

I 2

To

* The royal army raised by the king consisted of one and twenty thousand choice troops; and the provincial forces that followed king of Leinster amounted in the whole but to nine thousand, which were supported by eighty-nine valiant and distinguished champions of hardy seasoned courage, and his household troops that were inconsiderable in number, but of undaunted bravery. Both armies entered the field, and a most bloody and desperate engagement followed; but the provincial troops made so dreadful an impression in the beginning of the action, that they pierced into the king's army, and put them to confusion, with incredible slaughter. And notwithstanding a great superiority of numbers, Feargall was forced to give way, victory declared for the king of Leinster, and three thousand three hundred of the enemy were left dead upon the field of battle. At the first instant an unaccountable terror seized upon the royal army, occasioned, as some authors assert, by a dreadful apparition that hung over them in the air, which put them into such dread and consternation, that they were easily overthrown; which terrible fight,

the chronicle relates, left such an impression upon the minds of some of the soldiers, that, though they escaped with their lives in the action, yet after the defeat they ran distracted. The misfortune of the royal army, we are informed, was owing to a sacrilegious act, committed by Feargall, as he was advancing to fight the king of Leinster; for it is said, that in this march some of his forces broke into a church called Cillin, and carried away the holy vessels, and violently drove away a cow that belonged to a hermit of that place. This injustice was so resented by the pious old man, that he laid dreadful imprecations upon the king, and applied to Heaven for exemplary vengeance upon his army, and the prayers of the holy person prevailed, and occasioned the loss of the battle, wherein Feargall king of Ireland, and his sacrilegious forces lost their lives.—

This is the account the Irish writers gives us of the battle; but certainly the crime and the judgement, if we were inclined to believe such a thing, were by no means adequate; not to mention the absurdity of these pious mens being
so

Fogarthach. To this monarch succeeded Fogarthach, the son of Niall, descended from Hugh, the Second; but after a reign of only a few months, he was slain by Kineth in battle.

Kineth. Kineth who slew him, filled the throne after him; but was himself killed by a son of Longseach.

Flaithertach. The name of this prince was Flaithertach, who ruled seven years; and a little time before his death resigned the crown, and gave himself up to study and retirement.

Hugh IV. After the death of Flaithertach, Hugh the Fourth became monarch of Ireland.—He vanquished the troops of Leinster, in a fight occasioned by claiming the Boromæan tribute. The provincial king was killed in this battle, with most of his nobility, on the one side, and Hugh was wounded on the other, but not mortally. However, he survived this misfortune, only to fall in another battle against Donald, the son of Mortough, who slew him in the ninth year of his reign.

Donald. Donald afterwards mounted the throne, reigned twenty years, and died a natural death.

Niall II. He was succeeded by Niall, the son of Feargall, in whose reign earthquakes and famine made great devastation in the island.—He died at the abbey of Jona, in the kingdom of Scotland, whither he had retired from religious motives, and where according to some, Donald had also expired, and both were buried together in one tomb.

His

so ready to curse people upon every occasion, and Heaven being likewise always so ready to second them.— Upon the whole, it may be observed, that panics of this kind are not unprecedented in history, and likewise, that the subjects of the Irish monarchs seldom seem to have engaged heartily in this claim of the Boromæan tribute; either of

which circumstances may be alone sufficient to account for this fact, without having recourse to the dreadful apparition above-mentioned.— But this story may serve as a specimen of monkish legends, as some others have done for examples of old pagan fables; though I would wish to be very sparing of both in this history.

His successor was Donchada, son of Donald ^{Donchada.} the Third, in whose time the Danes first began their depredations on the island. He died a natural death, after a reign of twenty-seven years.

Hugh the Fifth, next ascended the throne; in ^{Hugh V.} the second year of whose reign the Danes, from a fleet of fifty sail landed a large body of forces, on the western coast of Munster; but these were engaged and routed by the king of that province, with the slaughter of four hundred of their men, the approach of night alone saving the shattered remains of their army. But about the same period, another band of these pirates, whose sole view was plunder, made a descent on the province of Ulster, through which, according to their usual custom, they began carrying fire and sword; but these also were defeated by the provincial troops, with the loss of twelve hundred men, which obliged them to quit their territories.

The Norwegians next meditated an invasion of the same kind, and landed with a great force in Leinster, where their arrival struck the people with such a panic, that at first they were incapable of opposition, which when these pirates saw, they advanced into the country without remorse or fear, plundering and destroying all that came in their way. But while they were thus employed, the people of Leinster being recovered from their fright, assembled, and, joining a large body of those of Munster, both together attacked the pillagers, when they least expected it, routed them with a terrible slaughter, and took all their booty away from them.

Yet another fleet of sixty sail made its appearance, and disembarked a large party of these rovers in Munster: these likewise were repulsed; but as the invaders came in separate parties, no sooner was one vanquished or departed, than another

ther succeeded, so that the toil was almost endless; and notwithstanding these repeated discouragements, these Danes having once found their way into the island, persisted in returning thither. The intestine divisions of the Irish likewise prevented, in a great measure, that opposition the pirates would otherwise have met with. Neither the princes nor the people could be brought to lay aside their particular differences.—Hugh invaded Leinster for the recovery of the Boromæan tribute, and laid waste that province. In the mean time, as if heaven and earth had been leagued against the Irish, storms and tempests arose to disturb them. The sea broke its banks in one part of the island;—in another, above a thousand persons were slain by lightning;—whilst, at the same time, the Danes and Norwegians were advancing to plunder, and were growing every day more formidable.

A. D.
815.

Turgesius at last, who is said to have been a son of a king of Norway, arrived with a vast fleet to put a finishing stroke for that time to the liberties of the Irish. No sooner was he landed, than all the Danes in Ireland flocked to join him, and he soon saw himself at the head of an army sufficient not only to rob and plunder, but to attempt the conquest of the kingdom.

Yet though it is morally certain that, from that time at least, the Danes entertained a notion of making a settlement in Ireland; notwithstanding this design, they still continued making war in their old piratical manner, carrying fire and sword every where, and implanting at once a dread and a hatred of them wherever they came. They plundered the college of Ardmagh, and driving away the primate, Turgesius settled himself there; but this was only a small specimen of the enormities committed by those savage robbers, the very recital of which would shock humanity; yet nothing

nothing definitive was concluded to be done against them by the monarch, who after twenty-two years reign a great part of which time was spent in domestic contests, being slain in the field, (but not in action against the Danes) left them in possession of almost half the country at his death.

Connor, the son of Donogh, was the next succeeding monarch; and he trod in the steps of his predecessor; for, instead of relieving the distressed Irish, or endeavouring to collect together the whole force of Ireland, in order to oppose the enemy, he entered into contests with his own subjects, and actually fought a battle with them, on the plains of Tailtean, in which he suffered great loss, while the Danes were proceeding in their conquests, without meeting with any opposition from him or seeming even to incur his displeasure. The people of Leinster, however, at length being roused, gathered themselves together, and unsupported, ventured to engage the common enemy; the consequence was, that though they fought like heroes they were defeated for want of proper succour, and the Danes after this event behaved more insolently and more cruelly than before. Even a prince, who assumed the mitre as well as the crown, at this period added to the miseries of this unhappy country *.—And after having been a tame spectator of these cruelties, Connor died a natural death, and left a mangled kingdom to his successor.

A. D.
819.
Connor.

I 4

On

* "In the time of these public calamities, Feidlim, the son of Crimthain, governed the province of Munster, and having entered into holy orders, presided in the archiepiscopal chair of Leath Moghad, as the south half of Ireland was generally called. This prince received provocations from the northern half of the island, known by the name of Leath Conn, and carrying his army into that part of the country, he

so sorely distressed the inhabitants, and plundered without distinction, from Birr to Trambahair Breag. But he met with opposition at Tarah, which he overcame with some difficulty." How little did such behaviour become a king of Munster! How much less did it become an archbishop!—Yet we find him honoured as a saint by some of the monkish writers!

A. D.
833.
Niall.

On his demise, his son Niall ascended the throne whose first act of any consequence was invading the province of Leinster, in order to give the inhabitants of that district a king of his chusing, instead of one of their own ;—an enterprize which little became an Irish monarch, at a time when his country was in the utmost danger from a foreign enemy. Yet such was his conduct at this time. In the mean while, to add to their distractions, a Norman fleet arrived in the Boyne, and another soon after in the river Liffey. Disembarking, these new comers spread themselves over the country, and imitated their forerunners, the Danes in their cruelty and devastations.

However, as it is natural to think those selfish people would admit no others to share their conquests with them, the consequence was, that a Danish army marched to meet the Normans, whom after a bloody action they routed, and pursued even to their ships; while the native Irish looked on, and saw these plunderers fighting for that property they had so unjustly ravished from them : being possessed with an infatuation, like that which occasioned the poor Peruvians to stand inactive witnesses of a scene of the same sort, which passed between the contending Spaniards under the very walls of Cusco.

But after above twelve years spent in this strange kind of inactivity, the Irish monarch at length roused himself from his lethargy, and engaging the enemy, routed them in a great battle. But soon after this success, he lost his life in endeavouring to rescue one of his retinue, who was on the point of drowning, as he passed a ford.—Strange ! that a man possessed of so much humanity as this action seems to indicate, should not sooner have shewn his compassion for his injured bleeding country !

The

The spirit of the Irish seemed indeed at this period again to blaze forth. The princes of Leinster and Munster had gained a victory over the Danes, and they had received checks in many of the provinces;—but all this was too late: these invaders had been suffered to get too much footing in the country to be so easily expelled.—Collecting together all their forces they had laid siege to Dublin which they took by storm, and there built a castle and established a garrison from whence they made frequent excursions to plunder the neighbouring country.

On the death of Niall, according to the best accounts, Malachy, king of Meath, the nephew of Connor, was by the native Irish elected monarch of Ireland; but, on the other hand, the Danes set up Turgesius, who immediately began to exercise, or rather to abuse the regal power; and sent for succours to his countrymen: they were not backward in complying with his desires;—a great fleet of transports reached the Irish shores, on the arrival of which the pride of Turgesius swelled beyond all bounds, and his cruelty kept pace with it. The sea-coasts of the island were ravaged from end to end, and nothing was able to resist his fury.—As the Danes and Easterlings (as they were called) were themselves unlearned, they vented their rage on every thing that bore any relation to letters, which they endeavoured to banish from the island.—As they were pagans, every appendage to Christianity was treated with equal rigour.—The most pious and learned men, (as many of them as were able) quitted the land, while the bulk of the people were reduced to the most wretched slavery. Overpowered by numbers, and oppressed by these complicated misfortunes which they had in a great measure contributed to bring upon themselves, they now struggled

A. D.
846.
Malachy I

gled in vain to get free : and every method they used to recover any degree of their ancient liberty, served but to rivet their chains the closer.

At the sacking of Ardmagh, the religious and students were sent to Limerick, then in the hands of the Danes,—all the books and records they could find they destroyed, and even prohibited the use of letters in the island.—Every enormity which these robbers practised when they were masters of England, they practised in Ireland likewise.—Those bishops and clergy who were not happy enough to get out of the island, were compelled to seek for shelter in the woods and caves. Wherever there had formerly been an Irish lord (or *king* as they termed them) of a manor, a Danish one was appointed. In every district there was a Danish captain; each little village had a serjeant, and a soldier being quartered upon every house, acted as lord of the whole family.—Their new-married women were obliged to pass the first night with the Danish captain, or to pay a compensation in money; and as for the soldiers, these were in their way yet more tyrannical, as they would be served before any of the family they were quartered upon; were attended like lords, and most wantonly ate up the choicest and scarcest of the provisions, being then happiest when they could reduce the poor natives to the greatest wretchedness:

In the mean time, besides the castle erected at Dublin, the Danes for their greater safety, had thrown up several forts (or Rathes as they are generally termed) and there secured themselves and their ill-got riches. For any man to dispute their power was to expose himself to infamy and to death, and he was liable to be much maimed, if through mere necessity he could not pay the taxes imposed upon him by these merciless masters.

All

All hospitable meetings were forbidden, and every means of encouraging public virtue cut off.—In short, the conquerors exerted their power to the utmost, in enslaving at once both the bodies and minds of the vanquished, and in rooting out from amongst them, as much as possible, all traces and remembrances of their former selves.—If this is a dreadful description, it is a most just one of a realm enslaved by foreign power, and torn in pieces by domestic factions: for long, even amidst this scene of wretchedness, did contending parties keep up their animosities, while their usurping masters did not interfere to discourage them. But if the least affront was offered to a Dane, he instantly lifted up his voice loud enough to be heard by all his neighbours and countrymen, and the consequence was fatal to the offender.

Thus was the Irish spirit kept under, and it was likely to have been reduced for ever, if an event of a very extraordinary nature, and which nobody could foresee, had not, when least expected, put it all at once into their power to recover their independence, and revenge themselves upon their enemies.

The matter, as it is recorded by the Irish historians, stands thus:—Turgesius having erected himself a castle near the palace of Malachy, king of Meath, who was the rightful monarch of Ireland, used sometimes to honour him with his visits, which he made more frequently, because that prince had a handsome daughter, who struck the fancy of the Dane; and at length made such an impression upon him, that he was resolved at all events to possess her. In consequence of this resolution, he demanded her of her father, promising to make her his greatest favourite, and to treat her with great kindness, if she would become the mistress of his pleasures. Malachy, how
much

Turgesius's
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much soever he disdained this proposal, situate as he was, durst not give the tyrant an absolute refusal. He therefore seemed to acquiesce in the demand; but desired that Turgesius would admit the princess privately, when it was dark, to his palace, in order to prevent her being exposed; and he also promised the tyrant to send with her fifteen young virgins, each of whom he engaged should exceed his daughter in beauty; but nevertheless if Turgesius thought otherwise, he said, she was still at his service.—After this strange negociation, the Danish chief went to Dublin to concert measures with some of the heads of his countrymen, for the effectual establishment of their interest in Ireland. Having finished the business of this council with all possible expedition, he selected fifteen of his favourites, and communicating his love-affair to them, invited them to accompany them to the castle, where he proposed to give a beautiful young virgin to each of them, while he himself received the princess to his embraces. The invitation was eagerly accepted, and the whole company set out for the place appointed.

Turgesius
slain and the
Danes sub-
dued.

Hither, according to their expectations, the Irish princess and her train repaired at the time which had been agreed on between Malachy and Turgesius. The usurper and his chiefs all unarmed and intent on nothing but dalliance, waited impatiently to receive them, and having ordered them to be conducted to a private apartment, the former selecting the daughter of Malachy from the rest, embraced her in token of his choice.—This proved a signal for her followers instantly to attack the Danes. On the instant all the former drew forth their swords, which they had concealed under their garments, and put the lascivious chiefs to death: as to Turgesius himself, they

they bound him with cords, which they had brought with them for that purpose, in order to convey him to their king. This being done, they threw off all disguise;—no more appearing like soft maidens destined for the tyrant's seraglio, they stood confessed young heroes, chosen to avenge their country.—A sign agreed upon being given, to the utter astonishment and confusion of Turgesius, Malachy broke into the castle, attended by those guards whom he had been permitted to keep for a mere shew of dignity; who now became the ministers of vengeance on their haughty foes. The usurper's soldiers were instantly attacked, and unable to stem the torrent which poured in upon them, were slaughtered without mercy. The darkness of the night, and the surprise added to the horrors of the foreigners, who found all opposition vain. Their king was loaded with fetters, and after having been sharply upbraided for his monstrous cruelties, was put to death by the order of Malachy. The news of this transaction was no sooner heard by the Danes, than they lost all their spirit, and the Irish falling upon them, before they had recovered from their consternation, in different parts of the island, subdued them with a terrible slaughter. Their cities and fortresses were overturned, they were pursued even to their retreats and fastnesses, and their cruelties retorted upon themselves with an implacable severity. In short, of the Danes, all who attempted opposition perished by fire, sword or famine, those few who remained or submitted themselves, after the first fury of the natives was appeased, were disarmed, and obliged to submit to become servants to those over whom they had so lately lorded it; and on such conditions alone they were delivered from ruin and from death.

Tur-

A. D.
859.
Malachy I. Turgesius being slain, Malachy took the government of the kingdom effectively into his hands, and, assembling the states, restored the constitution to the same footing on which it stood before the Danes had overturned it.—And for some time the inhabitants of Ireland enjoyed a state of tranquility, which it was their own fault that they did not render more permanent, by establishing a better kind of order among themselves, and being ready at all times to unite against a turbulent and a barbarous enemy.

The Norwegians land in Ireland. But the Danes and Norwegians, notwithstanding the great expulsion mentioned above, still entertained such an inclination to form a settlement in Ireland, that they could not prevail with themselves to keep away from its coasts.—Therefore after this great event, a great chief, with two of his brothers, embarked from the ports of Norway, as on a peaceable errand, with a view of establishing a trade with the Irish; and arriving there in safety, were suffered to rebuild the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limeric, which had been destroyed in the former wars; a mistake in policy, for which the natives of the country paid dearly; since however desirable a commerce with industrious strangers may be, yet it is most unsafe to let them make settlements in the country whither they come to traffic, a truth of which has been abundantly evinced by the settlements made by French, English, and Dutch, in various parts of the world, where under the pretence of trading with the natives, they made themselves masters of their respective countries.—But this truth the Irish were at that time to learn only by experience, and repented their ignorance when it was too late to redress the inconveniences it had occasioned.

The Easterlings being thus settled in the country, lay for ever upon the watch for opportunities to encroach

encroach upon the Irish, and the latter were not long before they furnished these opportunities. Perpetual disputes arose between the provincial provinces, and the heads of tribes, one amongst another, and these being generally terminated by the sword, gave scope to the common enemy of both to advance in power and consequence.—It was not long before the Norwegians taking advantage of these quarrels, made themselves masters of almost all the fortified and sea-port towns, and putting themselves in a condition to give laws to the disputants, began to lay the foundation of a flourishing colony in the island.—

But some of their neighbours the Danes, hearing of their success, again made a descent upon the coasts. In this attempt they met with little opposition from the Irish: but the Norwegians fearing they should lose the footing they had now got upon the island, resolved to meet and fight them, and accordingly drawing together the greatest force they could muster, went in quest of this new enemy, but after a bloody battle were totally defeated by them.—Thus the Danes once again established their power, whilst the Irish, as if in the course of a few years they had forgotten their sufferings, stood neuter (as the reader may remember they had done in a similar case before) and suffered their inveterate foes to seize on all that the Norwegians were then obliged to relinquish.—Yet not even this neutrality could protect them from the fury of the conquerors, who took care to secure their power and their possessions by the sword, and used every means to inflame the natives in such a manner as to oblige them to submit to their dominion.—A prince of the royal house of Denmark soon afterwards came and took the command of these his countrymen, and
presently

The Danes
return again

presently reduced those among the Irish who had hitherto preserved their independance, to a state of servitude and subjection. Yet there were some in the island who had a deep sense of the real interests their country, and these were perpetually labouring to persuade the Irish princes to unite their interests, as they had done a few years before, and altogether to fall upon the common enemy.— Though not a lasting peace, a truce was at length obtained by their endeavours, in consequence of which the monarch levied a very powerful army, and marching against the Danes, defeated their forces; but dying soon after, their entire reduction was a matter yet left unfinished when his successor ascended the throne.

Hugh VI. This prince was Hugh, the sixth of that name. Soon after his accession a prince of Meath engaging the Danes (in all probability without having any assistance from the other provinces) was defeated, and most of his soldiers left dead upon the field.—But what infinitely counterbalanced this advantage was the monarch's engaging these foreigners in a pitched battle, with Amelanus at their head, and giving them a signal overthrow.—The consequence of this victory was, that the shattered remains of their army retreated to those forts and cities which the Irish had been weak enough to suffer them to build for safety; but they were pursued, and most of their fortresses stormed, Amelanus's own palace, which was situated in one of their famous raths, was burned, and the greater part of those that fled thither for shelter were destroyed; and though the Dane found means so far to revenge himself as to surprize and cut off a party of the victorious army, as they were on their march homewards, and to plunder the city of Ardmagh in his retreat, yet he was forced to save himself and his countrymen by a speedy flight,

flight, and embarking on board his fleet, with all expedition at length to quit the island.

Hugh dying a natural death, was succeeded by ^{A. D.} 879
 Flan, who saw the island once more pretty well ^{Flan.}
 cleared of the invaders; but this was scarcely effected, when the usual intestine broils began again, and these had no sooner ceased on the part of the monarch than they were renewed in the kingdom by an ecclesiastic, who ought on all accounts to have been the last to kindle the flames of war in his country.

This prince was Cormac Mac Cuillenan (whom ^{Keating.}
 the Monkish writers surnamed The Holy) who was at the same time in possession of the archbishopric of Cashell and the crown of Munster. In the beginning of his reign he found all things quiet in the land, till he himself chose to begin fresh disturbances—The first matter of any consequence that we find recorded of him is, That having a mind to celebrate Easter with great solemnity and magnificence, at his palace in Cashell, he demanded an extraordinary aid of provisions from the inhabitants, which was absolutely refused him by them, but with which the warlike tribe of the Dalgais whose princes held possession of Thomond; and were descended from Olliol Olum, as belonging to his province, amply supplied him. A like demand that he made of a supply of arms and horses from the people of Eagnach, in the neighbourhood of Cashell met with little better success;—since those people though they did not return him an absolute denial, yet collected together a parcel of disabled horses and battered arms, and sent them to the monarch who was again supplied by the Dalgais with such as were good and useful; for which this poetical prince bishop sufficiently sung their praises in his psalter of Cashell, which is frequently quoted by the writers of Irish history.

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Besides

Besides this event which is no otherwise important than as it may serve to give the reader an idea of the temper of the prince and his people, we read of nothing of any consequence either in the transactions of Cormac or those of the Irish monarch, till after a reign of about seven years, the former was persuaded to collect his Momonians and invade the province of Leinster in order to recover a certain tribute, which there is not the least intimation of his right or title to in the preceding history—However, be that as it might, it was resolved in council that the king should claim it, and support that claim by force of arms—And though the Monkish writers tell us with great confidence that the prince-bishop was endued with a spirit of prophecy whereby he clearly foresaw that he should fall in this attempt, yet he resolved to proceed in it.—But before he set out, he sent for Lorcan, King of Thomond, whom he declared his successor as being descended from the younger son of Olliol Olum, who had ordered that the elder and the younger branches of his family should succeed alternately to the crown of Munster, an ordinance which nevertheless had been interrupted in forty-four successions and which the present king now in vain attempted to restore; for whatever compliment the council paid him when living they reversed his decree after he was dead, and gave the crown away from the lawful heir who had now a double right to the possession of it. After this Cormac having previously made his will, prepared for his fatal expedition.

The king had a favourite Abbot of Inis-cathy who was the principal instigator of this war, and who attended him on his march into the province of Leinster, where the army being arrived, a formal demand was made of the tribute in dispute, in consequence of which the king of Leinster sent
ambassadors

ambassadors to enter into a treaty with Cormac*: The proposal they were instructed to make was, That as harvest was then begun, hostilities should cease, for the mutual benefit of both parties, till the ensuing May, and to shew that their master was in earnest, they were ordered to deliver hostages on his behalf to Cormac, to whom as well as to the abbot of Inis-cathy they made some noble presents. We do not find that these presents were returned, but yet we find the abbot exerting every power he was possessed of to blow up the coals of dissension between the two princes, and unhappily he succeeded but too well in these his evil intentions.

This man, when the king seemed inclined to hearken to the terms proposed by the ambassadors, had the insolence to reproach him with cowardice to his face, and Cormac, instead of resenting the affront as he ought to have done, only replied "That was not the case tho' he well knew he should die in this attempt"—and at the same time observed that perhaps the abbot might likewise share in the ruin he was about to bring upon others.

—Then the king retired pensive and melancholy to his tent, where he first sent for his confessor, and afterwards made some alterations in his will, giving particular orders about his interment,

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* While the herald was dispatched to the King of Leinster, an accident happened that was likely to prove of fatal consequence to the army of Munster, for the abbot of Inis-cathy who, tho' in orders, was a person of a warlike disposition, mounted his horse with a design to ride thro' the ranks and take a view of the camp: but the horse being frightened, fell into a deep ditch with the rider upon the back of him, which was understood by the soldiers to be an unfortunate omen, and filled their minds with such impressions of fear that many of them despairing

of success resolved not to wait for Keating, the event, but withdrew from the camp, and returned home.—If the furious abbot had done the same, it would have been happy for Cormac, and prevented the effusion of blood to which his haughty spirit so much contributed; but in all this undertaking which was of his own advising he did nothing but mischief, so improper is it for men to act in a sphere which does not belong to them, and to attempt influencing public affairs while they are governed by private prejudices.

in case his body should be recovered from the enemy. The confessor, who was a good and pious man, used all means imaginable to prevent him from engaging in this destructive action.—Besides the many christian motives he urged, to avoid so much bloodshed as must necessarily ensue if the armies joined battle; he also communicated to Cormac the intelligence he had received, that Flan the monarch of Ireland had absolutely joined the king of Leinster with the royal army. But notwithstanding all these circumstances and the continual desertion of the troops, the ill-minded abbot had so much ascendancy over the king of Munster that he persisted in rejecting all terms of truce or accommodation, and both sides prepared for a decisive battle.

When the Momonian troops arrived at the plains of Magh Ailba, the spot destined for the fight, Cormac marked out a camp by a wood's side, where having put his troops in battle array, he waited to receive the enemy, who approached with the greatest ardour and marched most joyfully forward as to certain victory; whilst on the other hand the troops of Munster engaged without spirit and without hope, their king having a certain presage of his death, and one of their generals of the blood-royal, deserting as soon as the signal was given for the battle, after laying a heavy accusation against the abbot of Inis-cathy, and persuading the soldiers to depart, and to let him and his clergy fight their own quarrel, without involving others in their destructive measures. In the mean time the forces of Leinster which were found superior in number and in spirit, rushing on made so dreadful a slaughter among the Momonians, that the king of Ossory who commanded in the right wing, struck with horror, rode out of the field with all speed, calling to those next him to follow.—Seized with astonishment and dismay, the soldiers could no longer stand the

the shock, an universal terror spread itself through the ranks and caught from man to man; a general rout quickly ensued, and more fell in the pursuit than in the action which was but of a short continuance. Even the king of Ossory, who thought he retired early was too late to save himself, by that flight which completed the ruin of the army; and the abbot of Inis-cathy was taken prisoner.

In this general confusion, Cormac's horse threw him violently into a pit, out of which he was taken by some of the flying soldiers, who having relieved him from that distress made the best of their way from the spot in order to provide for their own safety.—A favourite officer advancing to him afterwards offered to accompany him; but this his master would not suffer, but ordering him to withdraw, proceeded on his way alone, little doubting but his enemies would soon overtake and destroy him; yet he did not perish by their hands, his horse attempting to climb a very steep place, fell with his rider, by which accident the king dislocated his neck, and thus met his fate in consequence of the battle he had so rashly fought, though he was not slain in the action.—One of the soldiers of the victorious army coming to the spot where the corpse lay, took it up, and cut off the head which they carried in triumph and presented to the monarch, who, however, was so far from approving, that he checked them for the proceeding; and is said to have expressed great concern for the untimely fate of Cormac.—Yet it is very plain from all that has been recorded of him that this Cormac was neither so wise nor indeed so good as the ancient historians would represent him.—A prince who could light up the flames of dissension in his country, who could undertake an unjust war, even when he was persuaded it would terminate in his own ruin, and,

K 3 lastly

lastly who merely to oblige a rash and wicked favourite could reject peaceable proposals when they were manifestly advantageous and honourable, and finally persevere in doing evil in spite of conviction;—such an one, at least in this instance, could neither deserve to be called good or prudent;—but though all this was the precise case with the king of Munster, whose death was the effect of wickedness and folly, yet, being a favourite with the monkish writers, he is by them styled *The Holy* and his name transmitted with honour to posterity.*

Soon after these transactions Flan died after a reign of thirty-seven years, the other events of which are not handed down to us by history.

Niall

* “After this engagement (says Keating) Carrol the son of Muirgein king of Leinster, directed his march towards Kildare where he arrived with many prisoners of note of the Momonians;—and among the rest the author of this rash and unnecessary war, the abbot of Inis-cathy was led in triumph among the captives, the clergy of Leinster were so enraged at the conduct of this hot headed priest, that they upbraided him with being the fomentor of these divisions between the two provinces and the cause of all the bloodshed on both sides: and they prosecuted their resentments with such violence that the unfortunate abbot was closely imprisoned and severely used, so long as Carrol the king of Leinster lived; after whose decease he was discharged and obtained his liberty.

“About a year after the decease of this provincial prince, Muirionn, the pious abbeſs of St. Bridget was so concerned about the safety of the abbot that tho’ he was released from his imprisonment and received his pardon, yet she apprehended he might be set upon by the enraged populace and his life endangered, and therefore for his security she prevailed with a number of the most religious clergy to procure a guard for him, till he

arrived at a place called Magh Nairb; from hence he came to Munster, and retiring to his monastery of Inis-cathy he spent some time there with great devotion and exemplary practice of holiness, till the death of Dubhlachtna, the son of Maolghuala, who governed the province of Munster seven years after the decease of Cormac Mac Cuillenan. By the death of this king the throne of Munster became vacant, and this abbot was removed from his retirement at Inis-cathy to administer the government of that province, which he held for many years with great applause; and, notwithstanding his want of policy with regard to the invasion of Leinster, he proved a sober and discreet prince, and was possessed not only of the command but of the affections of his people.”—

It is well when men are reclaimed by the experience of misfortune; it is perhaps doubly surprizing to see an effect like this take place among princes.—Yet whatever amends the abbot made his people when he became a king, it was impossible for him to do too much for those whom he had engaged in the fatal affair of Leinster,

Niall the Fourth, the son of Hugh the Sixth was ^{Niall IV.} the next monarch of Ireland—This prince was, very early in his reign obliged to take up arms against the Danes, who again appeared in Ireland—After a bloody battle which was fought in the province of Ulster, victory declared in his favour, and the invaders were repulsed with great slaughter. But a party of these lawless free-booters that landed in Leinster met with better success, and after routing the king's forces established themselves in the country under Sitric; Dublin was taken by storm, and the Irish monarch in attempting to put a stop to their progress was defeated and slain, after a three years reign, his troops though they fought with great valour being overpowered by the superior numbers of the enemy.

Donogh the Second, the son of Flan succeeded ^{Donogh II.} next to the throne of Ireland.—In his reign while Ceallachan was king of Munster, the Danes made incursions into that province; but were repulsed by the king who took their general's wife and sister prisoners and obliged them to lay aside their project of subduing his dominion, and withdraw themselves to join the main body of their countrymen at that time settled in Leinster.

Thus baffled in his designs, Sitric resolved to be revenged on Ceallachan for his disappointment, and in consequence of this determination applied to the monarch of Ireland who at this time had some disputes with him, relative to tribute and homage, and on that account was mean enough to come into the measures of the Danes, which were in the highest degree cruel and treacherous. Sitric, having transacted this necessary business with Donogh, sent a message to the king of Munster, intimating that he had no design any more to invade his province, and earnestly desiring to make an alliance with that prince by giving him his sister in marriage, who

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was a lady of great beauty, and was descended from the royal family of Denmark. Ceallachan, whose prisoner that princess had been, accepted the proposal with pleasure, and approving the treaty, without requiring hostages, engaged to make a journey with all expedition to the court of Sitric, in order to conclude the marriage — Besides making many splendid preparations for this solemnity, this prince would likewise have taken a very large body of chosen men to attend him, not for defence but for shew and pageantry, had not Kennedy, (who before had quitted his pretensions to a throne to oblige him) advised him to the contrary, not indeed because he suspected the evil intentions of Sitric, but, in all probability, because he feared that the Irish monarch might take this opportunity to fall upon the province, when it was almost defenceless, and plunder it in revenge for their refusal of the tribute and homage that he had demanded. Whether this or any other motive swayed him in giving his counsel, the king submitted to be guided by it, and accordingly set out attended only by a party of his guards, and some few of the nobility, among whom was Dunchan, the son of Kennedy, who accompanied Ceallachan on this expedition, while, in his absence, his father was left to administer the government of the province. In the mean time the wife of Sitric though an Irish woman could not help expostulating with her husband for what she deemed his want of spirit, in matching his sister, who, as I have taken notice, was of the royal house of Denmark, with a petty prince, who had been the great enemy of their interests. Sitric, in the midst of all his cunning suffered himself to be overreached in policy by a woman : little imagining that he should be betrayed from that quarter, he made no scruple of telling her that he had no design of keeping his word with Ceallachan, but that
all

all his view was only by fair promises to lure him within his power, which the moment he had accomplished, he would devote the unwary warrior to destruction.

Whether the wife of Sitric, as some writers have supposed, had conceived a passion for the king of Munster, during the time that she was his captive; or whether the love of her country, or a regard for the rights of humanity, operated at this time upon her mind, it is certain that she resolved if possible to save Ceallachan from the villiany of his enemies. For this purpose disguising herself, she quitted Dublin, the next day and waiting on the road through which she knew he must pass, as soon as she saw him, made him acquainted with the plan that was laid to destroy him.—

The king, struck with horror at this relation, immediately turned about, and made all haste with his retinue to escape the fatal snare his enemies had spread for him. But Sitric already had him encompassed in his toils.—Guards had been placed on the road, who, as he passed their stations, closed upon his rear.—When Ceallachan too late perceived this circumstance, he ordered his followers to exert all their strength in attempting to cut a passage through the forces which opposed them; and the command was so well obeyed, that had not the Danes been so near Dublin, as to receive numerous supplies of fresh troops, they must have given way, and yielded the injured prince a passage; but as it was, though the Irish slew many of them, yet their numbers thus perpetually recruited, at last prevailed—the Momonians were defeated, and in this skirmish Ceallachan and his friend Dunchan, the son of Kennedy were both taken prisoners.

Though Sitric by the event of this action had gotten the victim into his power, yet from some political

litical reasons he delayed making that sacrifice in public, which before he seemed resolved on in private.—Determined as he was, however that Ceallachan should not escape his vengeance, he was far from setting him at liberty ; but, in order to keep up the appearance of a moderation he was not possessed of, began to propound terms to his prisoners, taking great care they should be such as would have no chance to be accepted. He demanded that Cork, Cashell, Waterford, and Limerick should be delivered into his hands, and also that a fine should be paid for every Dane killed in the skirmish near the gates of Dublin.

From the instant that Ceallachan was informed of these demands, he resolved if the conqueror was in earnest, by no means to comply with them ; though his enemy declared his resolution, in case of a refusal, to transport his prisoners to Ard-magh, and from thence to Norway. But as he had reason to surmise that all this treaty was only intended to dupe him, and to procure, if possible, some opportunity for Sitric to act that villainy with some little shew of justice, which, tyrant as he was, he did not chuse otherwise to adventure ; this consideration made the king of Munster resolve to retort his enemy's own arts, and ply him with dissembling words.—He therefore intimated, that he would immediately send to his good subjects to try what they would do to ransom him, if the Danish general would permit one of the captives to return, in order to bear his message. This request being granted, a proper person was pitched upon to execute the important commission : to him, instead of instructions to procure his ransom, the noble-minded Ceallachan gave it in charge to exhort Kennedy, the regent of Munster, never to comply with the proposals

propofals of the Danes, or fuffer them to intrude themfelves among his fubjects, let the fate of their king be what it might; but rather to rouse his Momonians to arms, to fend the general Donough, with what land forces he could get together, immediately to his king's affiftance, and to order the fhips ftationed in the harbours, to repair with all poffible fpeed to Dundalk, there to prevent the Danifh fleet from executing their evil purpofe.

Happily for the king, the news of Sitric's treachery having quickly reached Munfter, the inhabitants of that province were already in motion, and the troops affembling when the melfenger arrived, whole inftructions they instantly prepared to put into execution, as well as the time and circumftances of the extraordinary cafe would admit.—Donough having collected his troops, the fleet was likewife drawn together, and the command of the naval armament, which confifted of feventy fhips, was given to Failbhe, king of Defmond. The army then proceeded to Connaught, where the general levying provifions for the fubfiftence of his troops, fo much offended the prince of the province, that inftead of doing all that lay in his power to affift his countrymen, in their undertakings againft foreign enemies, who had at various times fhewed themfelves equally tyrannical to all the Irish; this selfish chief fent private intelligence to the Danes of the approach of the army of Munfter, and difcovered, as far as he knew them, all their defigns.

Sitric had reached Ardmagh, where he then lay waiting with his prifoners.—But on the news of the Irish troops being in full march towards him, he ordered the Danifh earls who had the care of the captives, to march out of the city, and come immediately to an engagement with them, whilft he,

he, with his guard removed the former on board his fleet, in order to convey them to Norway, being more intent on the execution of his revengeful project, than on the preservation of his troops, who were soon totally defeated by the enraged natives; whilst Sitric went to Dundalk with his captives, whither, however, the victorious Momonians followed him the next day, with all their forces.—But when these latter arrived, they found the Danes just embarked with the king of Munster, Dunchan, and the rest of their prisoners.—It was in vain for them to line the shore, and menace the retreating enemy, who were sufficiently out of their reach, and fancied themselves likewise to be out of the reach of vengeance.—At length, however, while both parties were in this critical situation, the Irish fleet commanded by Failbhe made its way up to the Danes, and prepared immediately to fight them.

A fight so unexpected as this threw Sitric and his men into great confusion, from whence however when they were a little recovered, perceiving there was no way to get off, they began a desperate engagement, in which both their superior numbers and superior skill more than once gave them a prospect of victory; for the Irish were but new to the practice of sea-battles, whereas the Danes being old pirates were experienced navigators. Nevertheless, what the former wanted in numbers and judgment they made up in valour and resolution.—In this hard contest, the Irish admiral fought out the vessel of the Danish general, which he boarded in spite of all opposition: there he saw Ceallachan bound to the mast.—Hastening to his assistance, he quickly cut the cords, which tied him, and prevailed on the king, as soon as he had thus unexpectedly rescued, to quit the Danish and repair immediately on board the Irish vessel.

fel.—This generous advice, however, which saved the king, proved fatal to the gallant admiral; for not being supported by a sufficient number of his countrymen, he was at last overpowered, and slain by the Danish guards, who by Sitric's order, severed his head from his body, and exposed it to the Irish, in order thereby to dishearten them. But this sight only served the more to inflame their courage.—Fingall, who succeeded the slain admiral, again boarded the Danish ship, with a determined resolution to revenge the death of Failbhe.—This brave officer soon found his men so far out-numbered by the enemy, that conquest seemed out of their reach: But as he valued not his own life, he found means to get that of his foe into his power, for, forcing his way through all the fighting crowd to Sitric, he singled him out, grasped him in his arms, and threw himself with him into the sea, where both were drowned together. Two other of the Irish chiefs following the example, seized on Sitric's brothers in the like manner, and thus at once put an end to their existence, while they perished with them. The Danes were astonished and confounded when they saw the Irish thus at the expence of their own lives making sure of the destruction of their enemies, bold as they were, and accustomed to scenes of blood and slaughter, yet they were struck with dread and horror at this new method of fighting. Besides, as they now saw their general and his brothers destroyed, the royal prisoners released; and almost every thing they contended for entirely lost, they began to slacken their opposition, while the fury of the Irish still continued; and after some vain attempts to turn the fortunes of the day, fell into disorder, whilst the Irish improving their

their advantage, renewed their attacks with fresh vigour, till at length the Danes were put to flight, and a victory, the purchase of toil and blood, remained to them, and rout and confusion to the enemy.

From the event of this remarkable contest, it is easy to observe how indispensibly necessary it was for the Irish to keep up some kind of naval establishment; but till this time we hear of nothing of the kind worth observing in all their disputes with the Danes and Easterlings, whose attempts might otherwise often have been repelled, and rendered abortive by such an institution. Yet in the instance before us, the spirit of the natives surmounted all obstacles, and left a fair example to posterity how much might be done by a steady conduct, joined to a manly courage.—Had Ceallachan yielded to Sitric's proposal relative to the ransom, and had his subjects yielded, the foreigners would have gotten a footing in his dominions, which must have been productive of fatal consequences to the natives, and in all probability the Dane would still have found the means to satisfy his personal revenge on the king.—After all this, had there not been a naval preparation, that revenge could not have been compleated, notwithstanding the numerous army assembled by the general, who might have been eye-witnesses of a catastrophe that with all their valour they must have been totally unable to prevent.—But notwithstanding these lessons, which might so properly be adduced from the fact above related, it is certain that in succeeding periods, these truths were not properly attended to, and the succeeding miseries and misfortunes heaped upon the people, were too often the consequences of such an inattention.

Ceallachan

Ceallachan being thus delivered from the hands of his inveterate enemies, was not backward in expressing his gratitude to those who survived the dreadful day, and who had any share in his deliverance. He ordered thanks and largesses to be given to those brave men, whose courage had been the means of rescuing him from slavery, or from death; and having gathered his forces together, marched back with them in a kind of triumph, to Munster *. After this he fell upon the Danes inhabiting in and about Limerick, and the county of Cashell; Fortune favoured his arms, and he proved every where victorious. He then marched at the head of his forces to pay a visit to the king of the Deisies, with whom he entered into an alliance, giving him his sister in marriage who was a lady of great beauty and virtue; soon after

* " Martough Mac Flann, the king of Leinster, (says Keating,) attempted to obstruct his passage, and hinder him from conducting his troops through that province. This prince was of a mean servile disposition, and consulted more the interest of the Danes, than the prosperity of his native country; upon which account he determined to take revenge upon the army of Munster, and vindicate the cause of those foreigners upon the brave Irish, by cutting off their retreat, and harassing them in their marches, for this purpose he summoned all the forces under his command, and resolved to lay ambushes in their way, and fall upon them unprovided for defence. But Ceallachan, the king of Munster, having timely intelligence of the treachery of this apostate prince, who had renounced the love of his country, and wanted to betray it under a foreign yoke, prepared to receive him, and was so incensed at the baseness of the attempt, that he commanded his men

to give no quarter, but to make examples of those perfidious Irish men, who had no title to mercy, and were not to be treated as open and honourable enemies; and to raise their indignation the more, he declared that the Danes being of another country, were to be used as the laws of nations direct, but the enemies they were to encounter had forfeited the common and established rights of mankind, and therefore they were to be hunted down as robbers or beasts of prey, and not a man of them was to be spared. These severe injunctions and resolutions of Ceallachan, were carried by deserters to the king of Leinster, who dreading the resentment of the Momonians flushed with victory, desisted from his enterprize, and, withdrawing the forces of his province, retired to a considerable distance, and left the army of Munster to prosecute their journey without hindrance or molestation.

after which event, though he had lived and reigned in trouble, he died peaceably, descending quietly to his grave, full of glory and honour.—

Feargna succeeded to the crown of Munster, on the death of this prince; but when he was taken off by a conspiracy, Mahon the son of that Kennedy who had behaved so worthily to Ceallachan, was made king of that province:—that prince had two brothers, one of whom was called Brian Bioroinmhe or Borome, who was afterwards monarch of Ireland, and was one of the greatest heroes that country ever produced, as will be seen in the sequel.—

In the mean time, if the history has dwelt long on the affairs of a provincial king, many just reasons may be assigned for it.—In the first place, the great figure that prince makes in the annals of his nation,—in the second place, the great barrenness of other authenticated facts, during the periods of his reign;—and lastly the insignificancy, to say no worse of the Danish monarch of Ireland, who still sat upon the throne, at the accession of Mahon to the government of Munster.—The latter though a prince of great virtue and valour, ended his reign and life by a conspiracy of his own subjects, who caused him to be put to death, in the district known by the name of Oeneachach.

About this time the northern provinces resolved to imitate the example set them by the Momonians, and to extirpate the Danes from the province of Ulster. To this purpose the provincial troops were collected together, whom Mortough, the son of Neil commanded.—These attacked the enemy and routed them with great slaughter.—These events so intimidated the Danes, who yet remained in the island, that they were glad to relinquish all thoughts of meeting their conquerors in the field, and to repress that spirit of cruelty
and

and injustice, for which when crowned with success they had been always so remarkable.—In short, they were content to live in peace and quietness, when nothing could be gotten by war and oppression; and though the Irish did not avail themselves of this opportunity to exterminate or effectually reduce them to subjection, yet they could not but reap the fruits of this seeming alteration in the disposition of their enemies, while they did not sufficiently consider that it was such only as the sword had made.

Bloodshed, and famine, and wide wasting war, are doubtless the greatest evils that the human race can experience, and those who would wish a prince or his people to take up arms where peace can be preserved with safety and with honour, whatever may be their selfish ends, whatever may be their specious pretences, are enemies to both the prince and people, nay more, they are enemies to mankind, and unworthy of enjoying the benefits of living in a civil community;—but where a cruel and oppressive enemy attempt a settlement in a kingdom not their own; where not contented with a peaceable settlement in a fertile country, they repeatedly spread devastation through the regions they possessed, tyrannized over the natives, and deluged the land with blood, that prince or people that could sit down tamely under such abuses, and not chace forth the spoilers, when Heaven had put the means into their power, could scarcely be said to deserve the liberties they were so backward to defend.—Shame on that policy which teaches princes to increase the bulk of their subjects, either by a number of enemies or of slaves!—Shame on those mean, selfish maxims which would inculcate the necessity of receiving a set of wandering miscreants

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into

into the bosom of a community merely on account of riches gained by plunder, or an establishment obtained through force or fraud by their rapacious ancestors.

Had not the Irish, as a modern writer justly observes, been abandoned by the spirit of wisdom, and sacrificed every advantage to the continuance of their private animosities; indeed, had they not entirely lost sight of their own interests, this was one of those opportunities which offered to extirpate those destroyers root and branch from the kingdom.—But perhaps there were some then among that warlike people, who conceived a notion that this might not be a politic step, because the Danes understood something of commerce, and had brought with them some arts which the native Irish did not know, or did not practise.—It was such a consideration which influenced the Britons (but with more seeming reason) after many brave struggles for their liberty, at length to acquiesce in a submission to the Roman dominion.—And that polite people were kind enough to make abode in their country as long as it suited them; to draw what supplies they could from thence; to take away the flower of their youth to serve in foreign wars, and to leave the country defenceless, a prey to the next invader. Such were the fruits, such ever will they be, of this detested policy.—As for the Danes, they had not even patience enough to wait for such opportunities of bringing the natives of Ireland under their yoke; for no sooner did they receive intelligence of any fleet of theirs being destined for the island, than they were up in arms in all quarters, and ready to give the word for violence and rapine; whilst their love for plunder, which was the general motive to all their actions, was so great that no law was so strict, no obligation so sacred, as to be of force sufficient

sufficient to restrain them from it. Lenity in any people towards such a set of savages must be cruelty to themselves; and this indeed experience had more than once evinced with regard to the Danes and Easterlings, the remains of whom were still suffered to inhabit Ireland.

But they were not long satisfied with barely inhabiting the country; for no sooner did a fresh reinforcement arrive from their own country, than these wretches began to disturb the public peace again. Wherever there was plunder to be gotten, they swarmed thither immediately.—A fair being held at Tailtean, when the merchants came there to dispose of their goods, a party of these robbers having intelligence of it, immediately marched to surprise them, and carry off their effects.—but when the tradesmen were apprized of this treacherous design, they formed the noble resolution of uniting all in one body to defend their property;—For this purpose, they quitted the fair, and marched in quest of the enemy, who little expecting such an attack, were put into confusion at the first charge, and finally defeated with the loss of four thousand men, which was a terrible check and disappointment to these ravagers, who little expected so gallant an opposition from that quarter.

Nor was that all:—a piece of treachery like this was sufficient to rouse the Irish from their dream of peace and tranquility, and to put them upon their guard against their insidious guests. The people of Connaught at this time were the first that rose to vengeance upon the occasion, and these twice defeated the enemy; but their ill success only inflamed them the more; not being able at that time to face the Irish in the field, they spread themselves in pillaging parties over the country, burned, plundered and destroyed, carrying

rying on their old piratical war, which they knew was always terrible to the natives. However, at last the men of Connaught fell upon them, made a great slaughter, and entirely drove them out of the province.—All this time, Donogh sat still and beheld unmoved the miseries of his country,—nor do we find that he fought one battle in favour of his subjects, though there is an account of some he fought against them. After a reign of twenty-five years, he expired inglorious, leaving his people no cause to regret his death.

Harrassed as the Irish were by the Easterlings, yet those were not the only foes they had to deal with. The Welch, under the conduct of their prince Roderic, landed in their country, but were repulsed by the islanders, in a bloody engagement, in which Roderic himself was slain, and most of his troops cut to pieces.

A. D.
944.
Congall II.

Congall, the son of Melmith, of the race of Heremon, next assumed the monarchy, who acted with spirit against the Danes, and defeated them in a great battle, wherein they lost no less than seven thousand men.—Before this time, Brian Boiromhe, mentioned above, on the death of his brother Mahon, took possession of the crown of Munster. He resolved to revenge the death of the former prince, and accordingly made war upon the king of Oeneachach, whom he defeated notwithstanding the latter was supported by a great body of Danes, that he had hired for the purpose. The king of the Deisies being much displeased with this step of Brian's, was the next whom he was obliged to engage. That prince entered Munster and began to lay waste the province, but his progress was quickly checked by the Momonians, at whose head Brian attacked and totally routed his forces, though he likewise had
auxiliary

auxiliary Danes in his army. The flying soldiers were pursued by the victors into the town of Waterford, which they plundered and burned in revenge for the insults they had received from the enemy.

The people of Leinster, who were strongly confederated with the Danes, were the next whom the Momonian king routed in a pitched battle, killed five thousand of their allied army on the spot, and forced the rest to save themselves by a precipitate and inglorious flight.

After this he burned Limerick, and carried his arms into the heart of the province of Leinster, whose whole force, though united with that of the Danes, was not able to withstand his martial fury. Yet these foreigners though frequently defeated, always had means to recruit their forces sufficiently to distress the natives. The truth is, that they generally found some of the Irish, either from private interests or personal resentments, ready to assist them in their undertakings. Nevertheless we are told, that they quarrelled about this time with their old allies of Leinster, and engaging them in two great battles, slew the provincial king. In one of these actions, the primate of Ardmagh is said to have given his assistance to the invaders. In the mean time, Brian proceeded with his victorious arms every where to attack them, and happily he was every where victorious.

Malachy, who was descended from Flan Sionn, Malachy II. of the royal race of Heremon, succeeding to the monarchy, gave tokens early in his reign of a better disposition to relieve his country, than the deceased Donogh had done. In the battle of Tarah he defeated the foreigners; who left five thousand of their soldiers dead upon the field of battle. In consequence of this victory; the monarch joining his forces with those of Achy, the son of

Ardgail, who for thirty-five years had ruled Ulster, they attacked Dublin, which they took by storm, but nevertheless used their victory with moderation, and did not give up the town to be sacked and plundered; but proposed certain terms to the Danes, which the latter were by no means in a condition to refuse. The principal articles insisted upon in this treaty were these, That the vanquished should quit all their conquests from the river Shannon to the sea eastward; and that they should forbear all hostilities and incursions into the Irish territories.

But certainly all the Danes were not bound by this treaty.—And indeed it should seem in this place, (as there is reason to suspect in many others) that the advantages the Irish gained are rather exaggerated by their own historians; else we should not hear of these foreigners so soon recovering from their losses, even where they had not the means of recruiting themselves from their native country.

What gives a particular strength to this conjecture in the present instance; is the contradictory account, which some of the Irish writers themselves have handed down to us, concerning this Malachy, monarch of Ireland. Keating, in particular, after having given a circumstantial account of the taking of Dublin, and the treaty above-mentioned, and moreover told us two stories of Malachy's personal prowess exhibited against the Danes in single combat, immediately afterwards, without letting us to know how the invaders recovered themselves from the great check they had suffered, proceeds to give a terrible account of the danger the Irish were in of being totally subdued by them, owing to the remissness of this very monarch. His words are these:

“Nor

“ Nor was there any prince in the island who ^{Keating.} opposed these insults of the Danes, but the brave Brian Boiroimhe, king of Munster. This renowned hero, with his stout Momonians, was always in arms, and harrassing the foreigners; which by degrees humbled their insolence, and made them less frequent in their incursions. And this success and industry of the king of Munster had so fixed him in the esteem of the natives, who owed their lives and liberties to his protection, that they made an attempt to dethrone the king of Ireland, and give him possession of the government in his room; and they were the more encouraged in this design, because Malachy was an indolent inactive prince, addicted to pleasure and a love of ease, and sacrificed the happiness of his country to his own private diversions; and the people who were immediately under his authority, had contracted a servile habit of idleness, from the example of the court, and never disturbed themselves with opposing the inroads of the Danes, or calling them to an account for their cruelties and oppressions.

“ The nobility of Munster, and the principal inhabitants of the province of Connaught, reflecting upon the distressed and melancholy state of their country, applied themselves to Brian Boiroimhe as a deliverer, and it was unanimously agreed in council that ambassadors should be sent to Malachy, the king of Ireland, to signify to him in express terms, that he was unworthy of the government, and unfit for the public management of affairs, since he neglected the protection of his subjects, and permitted them, as an unconcerned spectator, to be oppressed by the merciless Danes, who took advantage of his indolent inactive disposition, to destroy the country and bring it into slavery. They expostulated farther with him,

and used the freedom to inform him, that a king of Ireland who had at heart the happiness of his people, would never suffer the insolent attacks of these foreigners to pass unrevenged as he did :— that the brave Brian Boiroimhe had undertaken the cause of public liberty, and to repel the incursions of the haughty Danes, and therefore he deserved to wear the crown of Ireland, who knew how to defend it with honour to himself, and happiness to his subjects. In the end these ambassadors, declared they had commission to acquaint him, that the nobility and gentry of Munster designed to dethrone him, and therefore, to prevent bloodshed and disturbance they advised him to resign of his own accord, and to retire to a private life. This representation was received with the utmost scorn and indignation by the king, who absolutely refused to comply, and knew the value of a crown too well to deliver it up only for asking. He likewise resolved to enter into treaty with the nobility of Munster, who desired to meet him, but insisted upon his right of possession, which he determined to maintain to the last extremity.—

The whole of this account seems indeed a little extraordinary ;—perhaps what followed upon this may appear no less so to the reader ;—when (not to dwell on the story with so much prolixity as Keating has done) he is informed that immediately receiving the answer above recited, Brian, collecting together all his forces marched towards Tarah, where he sent a herald to offer the monarch his choice of three things :—Either to resign his crown, as had been before demanded, or else to meet the king of Munster, in single combat, or at the head of his forces ; if he refused to do one of these, Brian gave him to understand, that he would take by force, what the other would

would not resign by treaty. Malachy, it seems, answered the herald, That he feared not to meet the Momonians in the field with his faithful subjects ; but that as he had no force at present assembled, he could not possibly do so, unless the king of Munster would give him a certain time to collect his powers, during which interval he would send messengers to the chiefs that owed him homage and obedience, declaring, at the same time, that if they refused him, he should not deem it so great a disgrace for him to resign his crown, as for them to forget their fealty.

The Irish writers tell us, that Brian very heroically (certainly very imprudently) accorded to these proposals, and agreed not to suffer his army to lay Meath under contribution till the monarch's fate was by this method determined.—In the mean time Malachy dispatched messengers to the provincial princes and all his dependants ; but far the greater part refused to assist him, and some to their refusal added reproaches and upbraidings, which we are not particularly informed how the man that had once conquered Dublin, and laid the Danes under a tribute could deserve. Be that as it may, after much consultation with his chiefs, who had each a separate interest of his own to attend to, and none of whom had any intention to support a declining monarch, the best proposal that was made to him being, at the expence of one half his territories, to be defended in the possession of the rest, baffled, disappointed, and irresolute, he was at last obliged to own his situation to the king of Munster, and to deliver up a sovereignty, in which, for some cause or other, his subjects did not chuse to support him.

Malachy
resigns the
monarchy.

If the monarchs of Ireland deserved to be deposed for not being able to deliver their people

ple from the attacks of foreigners, how many besides Malachy merited that fate!—Nay, how many merited a worse, for assisting those invaders in the mischiefs they brought upon their unhappy country!—Yet these reigned for a series of years without any such demand having been made or even suggested to them, while Malachy, for aught we find to the contrary, was deposed for not continuing to carry on the war with as much success as he had begun it;—for though the Irish writers are pleased to give a bad character of him about the time of his being deposed, accusing him of indolence and inactivity, yet do we not find from any authentic accounts that this prince was justly censured; all we can gather is that Brian was the greater hero, and therefore in a time of war and public calamity the Irish preferred him for his spirit, and on account of that success which they observed constantly to attend on all his undertakings.

It is no new thing to find a multitude fickle and wavering; but nothing could even palliate, much less excuse, this step taken by the people of Ireland, except the consideration last mentioned, which being an argument arising from the necessity of their affairs had doubtless a great weight with them; yet though Malachy quietly acquiesced in the resignation of the monarchy, when he saw himself deserted by those from whom he expected support, he bore in mind the insult then offered to his regal character, and shewed his resentment afterwards at a time when their all was at stake.

Brian Boi-
romhe.

On the resignation of Malachy, Brian Boiromhe was proclaimed monarch of Ireland, and crowned at Tarah, amidst the acclamations of his people. This was the second contest he had had where a kingdom was in dispute. He had formerly had a
contest



Bryen Boiroumhe Monarch of Ireland.

contest for the crown of Munster; he had now had a much stronger one for the dominion of Ireland.—Being successful in both these, he was resolved to shew his gratitude to the people, and to prove that he was not unworthy of the favour they had shewn him.—It is seldom that usurpers act so well; but the Irish writers have not chosen to consider Brian as such. Let him be what he might in that respect, it is certain he was a great hero, and at such a period as that when he ascended the throne, he must consequently be reckoned a great prince.

The new monarch on his accession bestowed liberal presents on Malachy, confirming him in his old inheritance of Meath, and the next year received the submission of the kings of Ulster and Connaught, in order to strengthen himself in his newly acquired sovereignty, from which his people expected to date the æra of their happiness.—Malachy had reigned for twenty-three years, and had not at last been able to repress the incursions of the Danes, but Brian, who had hitherto been the greatest opposer of their depredations, now he had attained to the highest pitch of honour, seemed resolved to complete the reduction of them.—But before I proceed to relate his military achievements, it may not be amiss to take notice of some of the remarkable, great and learned men who flourished in Ireland after Christianity was planted there, before the arrival of the Danes put a check to religion and learning, and forced many of the professors of it to seek their safety in foreign countries,

Passing over Palladius and the great St. Patrick, of whom I have already given an account, I shall here go on to mention a few of the most noted persons that flourished in the church (which in those days was the great repository of the learning

learning of the times) extracting my accounts from the briefest and most unprejudiced writers.

Colum Cill, or Columb-Kill was born of a good family, and was the founder of a monastery in a forest called the Field of Oaks. By his doctrine and good example he converted the Pictish nation to the christian faith, and while he continued in that country, he built the monastery Iona, called also Huy and Y-Columkill of which he was the first abbot, and which was the burial place of the Scottish kings and many saints. He wrote a Rule for the Monks which is called after his name, the Life of St. Patrick, and four hymns.

Bridget was born in the county of Louth:—she lived for the most part at Kildare in a nunnery of her own erection, of which she was the abbess, she wrote a Rule for the nuns of her order, and a Poem on the virtue of St. Patrick, and several other pieces.—A perpetual fire that was called St. Bridget's was consecrated to her memory, which was kept burning till the thirteenth century, when it was extinguished by order of an archbishop.

Congall founded the monastery of Bangor near the Eastern sea, to which such numbers of religious persons resorted that he was obliged to erect others for their reception—He wrote Institutes for his monks, the Acts of St. Columbe and some epistles:—This Congall is said to have had three thousand monks under his direction at one time.

Columba was born at Leinster about the seventh century. His school education being complete he removed into another province and put himself under Silenus, with whom he made great improvement. He then forsook the world and became a monk under Congall in the abby of Bangor. But, at last, tired with this inactive life, he set out with twelve companions on his travels, with a design to propagate the gospel in foreign countries. With these he passed

passed over first into England where he stayed some time with great reputation. Being however displeased with the contests about the celebration of Easter, and the ecclesiastical tonsure, which employed the religious of those days, he went with his companions into Burgundy, and, fixing on an old ruinous castle for their residence, they fitted it up and there practised the exercises of their profession. In the same desert he found another old castle called Luxeuil and his disciples encreasing fast upon him he converted it into a monastery. He built another at Fontaine and subjected this and the first to that of Luxeuil. Hence arose the original of priories, which being founded by abbots became subject to them—After travelling through France he at last settled near Naples where he died—He wrote a book against the Arians, several treatises on the Paschal Controversy, some epistles, letters, &c. and was a person of great piety and learning.

Bishop Aidan came from the monastery at Iona. To this pious prelate is owing the conversion of the Northumbrians. He governed that church for near seventeen years, and founded schools for the instruction of men and children—He differed from the church of Rome in keeping Easter, which occasioned Bede to observe in his character of him, That he had zeal without knowledge; yet he led a most holy life, as the same Bede acknowledges—This bishop governed the church of Northumberland above sixteen years, erected several schools, wrote Commentaries on the Scriptures, besides several sermons and homilies, and was a great ornament to his church and nation.

Finan, a native of Ireland came from the monastery of Iona: he succeeded Aidan, his countryman

man, in the see of Holy Island, near the river Lindis in the kingdom of Northumberland: he converted Sigibert, the third king of the East Saxons, and many of the court of Oswy, he had the same success with a prince of Mercia and his attendants. The old controversy about Easter being still on foot, this bishop could not be brought to conform to the Roman custom;—but he wrote a book on the ancient usage of the passover.

Furseus, a monk, founded three monasteries in his native country of Ireland and he met with great success among the inhabitants of East Anglia. He built a monastery in Suffolk, now called Burgh castle, which was largely endowed by the kings of the East Angles. But some commotions arising in this country, he went to France and erected the monastery of Lagny near the Seine, and abbey of Iona. Adamnan, was an Irishman, sent by the North Britons upon some business to the court of Alfred king of Northumberland, he was made a convert to the catholic Easter; and on his return home endeavoured to convince his monks of their error, but failed in the attempt. After this, he returned to Ireland, where, in a little time, he brought over most of them who were not in subjection to the monastery of Iona, to the Roman custom of keeping Easter.—Flushed with this success he went again to his abbey in North-Britain, but could not contrive as long as he lived to introduce the Roman custom into the house. He wrote the lives of Columb-Kill and that of the Queen of the Franks, several Poems, a description of the Holy Land, &c.

Cuthbert was the son of an Irish chief: he was left by his mother in the abbey of Mailross, while she went on a pilgrimage to Rome. He made great progress in his studies, and, having

ing a taste for that sort of life, he passed through the offices of monk and prior of his convent, with great honour.—After this he went to live a solitary life, from which he was dragged to the bishopric of Holy Island, which his friend Eatta quitted for him, and was himself translated to Hexham. But in two years after, he quitted the mitre and returned to his former solitude in the isle of Farn where he ended his days. He wrote a book of the Orders of the church, the Precepts of a regular life and Monastic Institutes.

Besides these, in the seventh century flourished Colman, a monk of Iona: he succeeded Finan in the see of holy island, and was famous for his contests concerning the time of observing Easter; in which those on one side of the dispute pretended to follow the usage of St. Peter, and those of the other side, that of St. John.—The ecclesiastical tonsure was another controverted point in those days, in which Colman was likewise concerned;—and king Oswy by whose command the synod was held in which these particular matters were debated, declaring himself in favour of the Roman custom, Colman threw up his bishopric and returned to Ireland where he built two monastries. He wrote a book in defence of his own opinion relative to the keeping Easter, another regarding the Ecclesiastical Tonsure, and an exhortation to the inhabitants of the Hebrides.

These were some of the famous men who flourished in the earlier periods of christianity in Ireland;—but the reader must not be surprised to find almost all these concerned in contests about trifles and controversial writings, the subjects of which, would do no honour to the meanest pen. It was the fashion of the times; so both the historian and his
readers

readers must take them as they find them; and it is besides to be observed, that it was from such sources as these, though far from being clear and refined ones, that many great nations drew first, as from a fountain-head those streams of learning which afterwards so copiously overspread the western world. If we credit authentic historians, Ireland had a great portion to herself in the empire of letters.----It was thence that many foreign churches received their greatest ornaments. It was there too that our own Alfred received his education; and at what time soever the Irish gained the knowledge of letters, that period most certainly was an early one, and is justly set down as such by the writers of that country.

But the Danes, as has been observed before, used all their endeavours to destroy this learning, and root out science from among them; nor did the English who succeeded them seem to favour the growth of it there in any but their own-countrymen. All the records or remembrances of antiquity among the Irish, they were likewise certainly enemies to, as wishing to make them as much as possible, forget their ancient laws, customs, and origin, in order that they might the more readily be induced to submit to the ordinances of the new settlers.——Circumstances that may in some measure account for the scarcity of authentic relations in regard to ancient affairs, in a nation that is said to have taken so much pains to preserve them.

The ninth and tenth centuries, as Warner observes, were less famous for men of learning and eminence than the preceding ones, on account of the Danish invasion; the following names however stand recorded, as making some figure in the republic of letters, even in those times of confusion.

Clement

Clement and Albin, who went to France, and were in high favour with Charles the Great.

Claude, a native of Ireland, who lived in the beginning of the ninth century, whom the wars obliged to forsake his country. He wrote a Commentary on the Patriarchs, the books of Joshua, Judges, and the Psalms; as also on the Gospel of St. Matthew, and St. Paul's Epistles.

John Erigena was likewise born in Ireland, and driven about by the wars. Some say he came over to England, and assisted in restoring learning in Oxford, in the reign of king Alfred.— He wrote and translated many books in divers languages, and was much respected for his extensive knowledge and learning.

Nor must Cormac Mac Cuillenan, the famous Archbishop of Cashell, and king of Munster, be omitted, who settled the psalter of Cashell, and of whom so much has been said already in this history. He flourished in the tenth century.—

And here it is to be observed, that the princes of the Niallian race generally gave as much encouragement to religion and learning, as the nature of the times would admit them to do; and in the course of the ecclesiastical controversies behaved with wisdom and moderation. Had they lived in happier days, truth and science might have flourished under their auspices, because having less occasion to act the part of heroes, they might have had more opportunity of displaying the virtues of humanity. But peace was not given in their time, and it was to Brian Boi-roimhe that the glory of chasing forth the spoilers of liberty and learning, was reserved, and with his blood purchasing the blessings of freedom to his country.

Though the general voice had approved the election of this prince, yet there were not wanting

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among

among these petty princes some malecontents, who though they had not opposed him by open force, yet denied to acknowledge him as monarch. Brian, who was brave, vigilant, and indefatigable, sent his son against some of these, who met with success in his expedition:—against others, he went in person; but whilst he was thus busied, a party of the Danes began to plunder the lands of Ulster, whilst another party landing on the coasts of Munster, burned Cork, and being joined by some of the people of Leinster, entered Meath, in which kingdom they made terrible havock and devastation, but Mortogh the son of Brian, meeting these last, while they were thus employed, fell upon them with the troops under his command, took the Danish king and his son by stratagem, and caused them to be put to death; harassing and distressing the Danes and the men of Leinster, even to the very gates of Dublin.

When the monarch had chastised the Danes, and fixed himself in the possession of his kingdom, he next began, as the Irish writers say, to direct his attention towards the establishment of religion, and the arts of peace amongst his subjects.—He first confirmed his nobles and chief men in their rights, and bestowed such favours upon them as he rightly judged would secure him their affections, and be the means of rendering his sovereignty permanent. He next rebuilt and repaired those churches and public edifices which the fury of the Danes had either overthrown or disfigured and dismantled, and, summoning all the clergy together, collected every where those revenues of the church which had been sacrilegiously seized, and delivered them into the hands of the ministers, restoring them to their several claims and offices, putting them upon the

the same footing as they were before the domestic troubles had disturbed and altered them.

Besides repairing the schools ruined by the Danes, and every where giving orders for students to be sought out to fill them with, he likewise erected many new seminaries of education for the increase of science and useful knowledge in his country.

He bestowed upon the native Irish whatever he recovered from the Danes, by which means the commons were enriched and obliged.—He caused new roads and causeways to be made, in order to connect the different parts of the kingdom; and erected bridges over rivers, before only passable by fords; and what was still of more consequence, taking example by the policy of the Danes, he erected many castles and fortified places, in which he kept garrisons that might be a security against a foreign enemy. This prince is said by his laws and ordinances to have kept such good order in his kingdom, that a beautiful lady might travel through the kingdom, in the richest attire, and with a quantity of gold and jewels about her, without damage either to her honour or her property*.

King Brian kept his court at Ceann Coradh, in Munster, where he had thirteen fortified palaces, and lived in a dignity and splendour becoming so great a prince, whose revenues and tributes could

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well

* Keating says, this experiment was absolutely tried in the person of a young lady, who travelled in this manner, from the northern to the southern end of the kingdom; being richly apparelled, and bearing a wand, at the end of which was a valuable ring; for which he

quotes the authority of an ancient Irish poet. But from the nature of the affair, this story seems rather an embellishment, intended to do honour to the wisdom and justice of Brian, than an historical account of any thing that actually happened in the reign of that prince.

well support his grandeur *, and whose noble spirit loaded his faithful ministers and officers with wealth and honour, though he seemed particularly fond of distinguishing the brave tribe of the Dalgais, who alone were permitted, to wear arms in his presence.

Having every where established good order in his dominions, the Irish began to taste the blessings of peace and plenty, when the tranquility of the island was interrupted by a breach as extraordinary as it was unexpected, if we may believe the writers of Irish history, who tell the story in the following manner.

Keating,
Warner, &c

Brian Boiromhe, say they, being established in his kingdom, and having settled the affairs of his subjects

* " The place of his residence, says Keating, was Ceann Coradh, where his retinue was becoming the majesty of an Irish monarch, and whither the three provinces of the island brought their subsidies and contributions, which were very large, to defray the expences of his royal court, besides the constant revenue which arose from the two provinces of Munster, and was paid yearly into his exchequer. An account of these particulars is transmitted to us by a celebrated poet and antiquary in a poem, the writer of which expressly relates the constant tribute both of provision and other necessities, that was paid not only by the two provinces of Munster, but by the other three provinces of the island. The particulars are specified in the following order:—Two thousand, six hundred, and seventy beeves, one thousand, three hundred and seventy hogs, one hundred and eighty loads or tons of iron, three hundred and twenty-five hogheads or pipes of red wine, and one hundred and fifty pipes of other wines of various sorts, and five hundred mantles. And these annual tributes, appointed for the use and service of the crown, were laid by public laws upon the several

countries of the island, and in the following proportion,—Eight hundred cows, and eight hundred hogs, were fixed upon the province of Connaught, and appointed to be spent annually upon the the first day of November; five hundred cloaks or mantles, and five hundred cows were to be supplied from the county of Tyrconnel; sixty hogs, and sixty loads or tons of iron was the yearly tribute of the inhabitants of Tir Eugoan; one hundred and fifty cows, and one hundred and fifty hogs were to be paid by the clan Rughruidhe, in the province of Ulster; one hundred and sixty cows was the contribution of the Oirgi-allachs; three hundred beeves, three hundred hogs, and three hundred loads or tons of iron, were to be paid by the province of Leinster; sixty beeves, sixty hogs, and sixty loads or tons of iron, were provided by the people of Offory; one hundred and fifty pipes or hogheads of wine was the proportion of the Danes, who inhabited the city of Dublin; and three hundred and sixty-five pipes or hogheads of red wine was the yearly tribute demanded from the Danes of Lime-rick.

subjects, as well as his own revenues to his mind, resolved to build some stout vessels, whereby he might put the navy of Ireland upon a respectable footing, a resolution from which none could have presaged without being endued with the absolute spirit of prophecy, that any evil consequences could possibly have arisen. But it happened that the monarch on this occasion sent to the king of Leinster, to desire he would let him have three of the largest masts that could be found in his territories. The provincial prince in order to oblige him, ordered three of the tallest and stateliest trees in his forests, that were fit for the purpose, to be cut down, in order to send them to the court of Brian.—Three different tribes being chosen to take charge of these masts, a dispute arose between them in a narrow way, which of the three should have precedence.—The king, who was present, hearing the occasion of this dispute, very unwisely, suddenly dismounted, and declaring in favour of one of the tribes, forgetting his kingly dignity, rushed into the midst of the crowd, and by force laying hold of the mast that was borne by his favourite tribe, helped to carry it on his shoulders with them, like a common labourer, in order to do them honour. But in the struggle, the silver button which fastened his mantle flew off, a circumstance which, as trifling as it might seem in itself, we are assured by historians was attended with the most fatal consequences to a whole people.

When the king of Leinster had settled this dispute, he and his retinue proceeded with all convenient expedition on their journey. Being arrived at the court of the monarch, this prince was received by Brian with great courtesy, and afterwards was admitted to see the queen, who was his sister. According to the simplicity of those

those days, the king of Leinster besought her to fix a new button on his mantle, at the same time relating how he had lost that which fastened it before, in bearing upon his shoulder one of the masts destined for her husband, the king of Ireland, as a testimony of the respect and obedience that he owed him.—The queen, who was a woman of a high spirit, could not bear this submissive behaviour in one of her own family, though it was shewn to her husband, whose honour, if she had considered rightly, she should have deemed her own: but giving way to female resentment, she reproached the king of Leinster with his abject meanness of spirit, and like a true virago, threw his mantle into the fire, which action enkindled a flame in his breast that nothing but the best blood in Ireland proved afterwards sufficient to extinguish. Maolmorda was a very weak man, and weak men are generally hurried from one extreme to another. If he had before demeaned himself too servilely in the affair of the mast, he was now meditating how to wipe off the stain his sister persuaded him he had cast on his honour by that action, and with a heart swelling with arrogance, resolved to seek some occasion of affronting the monarch or his family, as the means of shewing that spirit and courage which his sister had upbraided him with degenerating from.

The next day, entering an apartment in the palace, where Mortough the son of Brian, and Duncan the son of Conuing, were engaged in a game at chess, he advised Duncan to make a move which occasioned him to win the game. This being very unfair in a looker on, raised the resentment of the prince of Ireland, who, in his anger, told Maolmorda,—That as it was owing to his advice that Duncan now won the game of chess, so he ought to remember, it was owing
also

also to the same advice that his friends the Danes lost the battle of Glean Madhma. On this the king of Leinster, who only waited for some occasion of offence, replied with as much acrimony as malice, That if by his advice the Danes had suffered a defeat, he knew also how to put them in a way of fully repairing that loss, and taking vengeance on him and his father the king of Ireland; to which the prince replied, Those invaders had been so often chastised by his father that there was little occasion to fear any attempt they could make in future, even though the king of Leinster himself should undertake to command them. This contemptuous answer, which Maolmorda had so rashly drawn from the prince, so much inflamed his anger, that he immediately quitted the apartment and shut himself up in his chamber, where he remained secluded from the court, till the next morning, and then hastened away, without taking any leave, lest, having laid his scheme of revenge, he should chance by any means to be prevented from putting it in execution.

In the mean time, Brian, who was entirely ignorant of what had passed, was not a little surprised at the abrupt departure of his guest; but when he received an intimation of the cause of it, he resolved to try if possible to induce him to return, and make up the breach between them before it grew any wider. For this purpose, therefore, he dispatched a herald after him, to request his presence at court, and to shew his willingness to renew their amity, by the same herald he sent a rich present which he had provided on purpose for him, previously to his arrival in Munster. But Maolmorda, either from a suspicion common to the guilty, or construing this generosity as the mean effect of fear in the

monarch, returned this civility by cruelly striking over the head with a stick the innocent person who delivered the message and present in such a manner that he made a fracture on his skull.— This unhappy man was conveyed back to court on a litter, where the treatment he had received being made public, the monarch was on all sides solicited to resent it, and to send a body of troops in pursuit of the provincial king, who might bring him back by force, and make him in person answer for this his scandalous behaviour.

If Brian had taken their advice he would not only thereby have supported his own regal dignity properly, but he would also have prevented those evils which the wicked Maolmorda afterwards brought upon the country; and all this might have been done without proceeding to extremities, since the king of Leinster being once in his power, and his passion having time to cool might have been brought to relinquish his evil designs, or more easily prevented from compleating them. But the monarch in this case acted more like a hero than a prince; he was imprudent enough to reject this salutary advice of his officers, and told them with an air of superiority, That he needed not to take such measures to revenge the affront received from the king of Leinster, since he was able to chastise him even at his own doors. This answer being suitable enough to flatter a warlike people, for the present quieted their fury; and by this false step in politics Maolmorda escaped fate to Leinster, where he immediately set himself about realizing those mischiefs which he already enjoyed in idea.

As the Danes, though vanquished every where by the victorious arms of Brian, were permitted
to

to inhabit several sea-port towns, in consequence of that erroneous policy which I have before taken notice of, namely, that Ireland might be benefited by their trade and commerce, so these were still as ready as ever to take up the old cause of their countrymen, and the king of Leinster took occasion, as if on their account, to send for aid to the king of Denmark, in behalf, as he said, of the oppressed Danes in Ireland, who groaned under the tyranny of the monarch.—The Danish king was ready enough to comply with this solicitation, in consequence of which he sent two of his sons at the head of twelve thousand chosen men, to the assistance of the provincial prince, who had no sooner received this aid, than he sent a challenge to king Brian, to meet him at the head of his troops, and give him battle at a place called Clontarf.

If the monarch was apprised of the menaces of Maolmorda, we do not find that he ever expected him to be base enough to put them into actual execution.—Therefore he and his whole court were amazed at this challenge, and all Ireland was alarmed at the denunciation of a war, which must once more put their lives and liberties upon a hazard. But as Brian was not a man to be frightened, he accepted the challenge without hesitation, and immediately began to make preparations for encountering the haughty enemy.

The monarch was now arrived at an advanced age, but he had three sons that were young and active, and these were resolved to distinguish themselves; in particular Mortough, who had a great share in the cause to which the king of Leinster attributed the rise of this war; and he was pitched upon to command the army, which was principally strengthened by the provincial troops of Munster

Munster, and of Connaught, and increased by the assistance of several warlike clans, whose chiefs voluntarily led forth their men, and offered their service at this intricate time to their aged monarch and their country.

Among the rest came the old deposed sovereign, Malachy, still king of Meath. Making a shew as if he would assist Brian, he mustered all the forces of his kingdom, and with them joined the Irish army, which was become by this time a very respectable body, and marched with the greatest firmness and resolution to meet their foes, who waited for them at the place appointed.

But the great age of the monarch, who was now above fourscore, rendering it improper for him to appear in the action, he was persuaded by his sons to retire to his tent, while they commanded the troops, which were drawn up under his direction, and supplied his place in the field of battle who had so often led them on to victory. Brian now quitting the army, commended them to their fortune, and taking leave of those with reluctance whom he was fated never more to behold.

At his departure the signal was given for the battle; but no sooner did the trumpets sound than the deceitful Malachy instantly separated his forces from the main body of the army, and, retiring to a convenient distance, stood a calm spectator of the engagement. This prince, though he had peaceably suffered a subjection to the dominion of Brian, had yet never forgiven him, nor any of those who were concerned in deposing him; and this was the time when he chose to shew his resentment, by an action doubtless the most blameable of any for which he was censured, and which was certainly meant to produce the overthrow of the whole Irish army.

But

But happily this did not answer his expectations, for the troops led on by the monarch's son, were animated with such an heroic ardour, as his base desertion could not damp. They remembered whom they were to encounter; they remembered also that they were fighting for their liberties.—They charged the Danes with their old martial fury. These stood the first shock with steadiness, and returned the charge with vigour; but the Irish were immovable; none quitted their posts; and when one man fell, his place was instantly supplied by another. Thus after the charge given and received with amazing impetuosity, both armies stood firm and unbroken.—Then was the fight renewed on both sides with the greatest skill and courage, victory for a long time being doubtful, till, after a most bloody contest, the warlike spirit of the Irish prevailed in the cause of their good old monarch, and of liberty.—The Danes gave way, they were broken, and being pushed with vigour, at length they were turned to flight; the army of Leinster sickened at the sight;—when those on whom they had placed their chief dependance gave way, they stood no longer;—a general rout ensued, and clear victory, though most dearly purchased, remained with the Irish army.

Among the slain, on the Danish part, were the sons of the king of Denmark, and the chief inhabitants of their settlement in Dublin, with above four thousand common soldiers.—On the part of Leinster were slain Maolmorda, author of the war, with the principal of his nobility, and three thousand, seven hundred of his forces, who fell the victims of his pride and implacable resentment.

But if the loss of the vanquished was great, the victors had likewise cause to mourn,—Besides
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four thousand of their best troops slaughtered, they lost their general Mortough, who was treacherously slain by one of the Danish princes, that lying wounded on the field of battle, intreated his assistance, which when the generous warrior dismounted to grant him, the insidious Dane suddenly stabbed him to the heart.—But what was still more affecting to the Irish, was the loss of their monarch, who had so often taught them how to conquer, and who now fell, not on the field of battle, where he had often met death in its most terrible forms, but perished because he was not able to preside over the business of that dreadful day.

The good old king having, as before-mentioned retreated at the instance of his sons to his tent, there waited with anxiety the fortune of the battle. When victory had declared itself against the Danes, and the perfidious monarch of Leinster,—when every thing seemed to favour the cause of liberty and justice, it was then that this great and heroic prince met his fate, and expired on the very eve of his triumph:—for a party of the flying Danes, commanded by one Brúadar, passing by the monarch's pavilion in their flight, when they understood to whom it belonged, entered it, and finding Brian unguarded, instantly fell upon him and slew him: but, expeditious as they were in this their devilish revenge, they were not quick enough to save themselves from the punishment which such a murder deserved; for the Irish guards, who were not far distant from them when they entered, came up, and finding their monarch killed, immediately cut the assassins to pieces, sacrificing them to the manes of their beloved king and general.

Such was the end of this dreadful war, commenced by a weak prince, merely to gratify his own implac-

implacable temper, at the expence of the lives of thousands, and the manifest hazard of the freedom of his country, in which he deservedly fell himself, accompanied by the chief of those foreign and domestic enemies to the peace of Ireland, who had the leading of these adverse powers.—Happy had his own or theirs been the best blood shed upon this occasion !—But here fell the hopes of a whole country, two of the bravest of princes, little deserving of the fate they suffered, and whose fall must be considered as the worst of evils to their suffering country. Nevertheless they fell covered with laurels, whilst the Danes and the troops of Leinster, retired, covered with shame and fruitless wounds, to deplore at once their crimes and their misfortunes, and without the least gleam either of hope or virtue to comfort them from a consciousness that their cause was just, or that they had fought to free their country from oppression, or to answer any good or virtuous end whatsoever.

Brian Boiroimhe, who was thus murdered by the Danes, was then in the eighty-eighth year of his age, being seventy-six when he became monarch of Ireland ;—elected, as we have seen, by the states ; nor is there any proof in history that the plan for raising him to that dignity was consequent to any proposal first made on his part ; and there are few who would not have acted as he did, if they had the same invitation ; notwithstanding, as has been observed before, Malachy was deprived of his right by this proceeding, and that seemingly without any adequate reason for such a deprivation.

Whatever judgement men might form in regard to Brian's manner of obtaining the monarchy, it is certain no man knew better how to support its dignity, and to defend the crown he wore. In war
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he was an acknowledged hero, and besides patronised religion, learning, and the arts of peace. —He encouraged the bishops and clergy, was easy of access to all those who could propose any thing for the benefit of the community, and was as mild and sweet in his private conversation as he was fierce and terrible in war. He had commanded in above twenty engagements with the Danes, in all which he was successful, before this fatal battle of Clontarf, where his sons gained the victory, and where he lost his life.

After the fight was ended, the Irish army separated; the forces of Connaught departing by the nearest road to their own country, whilst the Mononians returned, under the command of Donogh, one of the surviving sons of Brian; but as they were proceeding on their march, the dispute concerning the alternate succession ordained by Olliol Olum, was again revived between the tribe of Dalgaiss and the Eugenians. —The princes of the latter race now separated their forces from those of the former, and sent a message to Donogh (who till then had led all the troops of Munster) laying claim to the crown of that province on the principle above-mentioned, which they thought reason sufficient for them to demand of the son of Brian at this critical time, a formal renunciation of his right of succession in that province, for which they expected hostages to be given, alledging that his father and uncle had violated the ordinance of their great ancestor, by succeeding each other, instead of observing the alternate claim of the Eugenian family.

To this message Donogh replied with great firmness, That the submission paid to his uncle and father was only extorted by force, and that they had attained the sovereignty of their province rather by their valour in taking it out of the hands

hands of the Danes, than by any established prescriptive law whatsoever.—And he farther added with great contempt, That they might be sure he would keep what came to him by descent, and what they never durst have disputed his claim to, if they had not taken a mean advantage of the situation of his affairs; for that if the brave tribe he commanded had not suffered so much at Clontarf, instead of giving hostages for his renunciation of the crown of Munster, he would have chastised them for their disobedience in making so bold a demand, and would have obliged them to give hostages for their loyalty, and better behaviour for the future. After he had dispatched the messenger with this answer, he made his troops acquainted with the whole proceeding, who highly approved his conduct, and immediately ran to arms. But as there were numbers of sick and wounded among them, it was first resolved that these should be lodged for security in a fort at a little distance, with a sufficient guard, while the rest might engage the Eugenians, who were full three times their number.—But this the sick and wounded could by no means be prevailed upon to agree to: they were all determined not to be separated from their beloved general and their brave companions of the war, therefore tenting their wounds with moss, they began to brandish their weapons, and prepare for the fight; a circumstance which struck the enemy with so much terror and astonishment, that they instantly withdrew their forces, and suffered Donogh with his tribe of the Dalgais to pursue their way home unmolested.

But in their route this valiant tribe met another obstacle of the same nature, from the opposition that they were threatened with by Mac Gilly-Patrick, king of Ossory, who presumed to insult

sult them in their distress, under the pretence of demanding hostages that they would commit no outrages, before he let them march through his territories, which if they refused, he declared he would meet them in the field.—It seems the whole intent of this proceeding was not really to secure the safety or property of his subjects, but rather to provoke Donogh to engage in an unequal fight, as this mean prince kept in remembrance some inconveniencies his family had sustained from Brian, who had made his father prisoner, and slain many of his subjects. Seeing therefore how much Donogh's force was reduced since the battle of Clontarf, he resolved to take advantage of the situation of the Dalgais, whom he now considered as unable to resist his arms.—But Donogh knowing the bravery of the hardy veterans he commanded, answered the messenger, That he was surprized at his baseness in thus taking advantage of his distress; and that he looked upon it as the greatest misfortune that ever happened to him to be thus subject to the insults of a man whom he had ever despised; but that, notwithstanding the king of Ossory had been cowardly enough to bid him defiance, at a time when his troops were wearied by a long journey, yet he would accept the challenge, and made no doubt but that he should be able by the assistance of his brave followers, to make the sender repent of his malicious intentions.—The herald hearing Donogh talk in such terms, took upon him to represent to the prince the imprudence of his resolution, considering the inequality between the two armies; but he was told, that he ought not to interfere, and moreover given to understand, that if the law of nations had not preserved his person inviolate, he should have had his tongue cut out for his insolence. Donogh then dismissed him from his presence with a
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strict command to tell his master, that he would fight him as long as he had a single man left to support his cause.

Having returned this spirited answer to the king of Ossory, Donogh again proposed to his men the separating the sick and wounded from the army; but these again refused it, holding a friendly and affecting contest with their general, and begged most eagerly that they might be allowed to share the honour or the ruin of the day, and to triumph or die with their companions. It was in vain that the prince represented to them their inability to sustain the charge, and even the incumbrance they would be to the sound and healthy troops. As to the first argument, they declared themselves resolved on victory or death; and to obviate the second, they proposed a method scarcely to be paralleled in history, which was that of driving a sufficient number of stakes into the earth, to which the wounded who were scarcely able to stand should be tied, with an effective man on either hand:—By this scheme these fatigued and mangled soldiers having their arms at liberty might form a kind of rampart against the enemy, on one hand, whilst, on the other, they would mark the ground, from which the rest of the army would be ashamed to recede, as their retreat from thence must prove certain destruction to their brave disabled companions.

Having overcome their general in this tender struggle, he caused the troops to be put in battle array; and these more than heroes were just going to be placed according to their desire, when the king of Ossory's troops came in sight, who with astonishment beheld the strong preparation for the engagement. But no sooner did they perceive what end it was intended to answer, than one and all laid down their weapons, and refused

to enter upon the desperate combat; which when Mac Gilly Patrick found it was impossible to persuade them to, after upbraiding them with cowardice, and giving vent to a fruitless passion, he withdrew his army from the field, very much mortified;—yet he resolved to harraßs them in their march with flying parties, which resolution he so far effected, as to cut off many of these brave soldiers in their retreat, (which somewhat resembled that of the Greeks from Persia, called the retreat of the ten thousand) so that after their loss at the battle of Clontarf, and the injury they received from his mean resentment, of all this martial tribe not above eight hundred and fifty returned safe into their own country.

Surely it must fill every generous reader with astonishment and indignation to see what pains the Irish took by their own intestine divisions to destroy as much as possible the fruits of all their victories, and to find how unworthily they treated the bravest tribe among them who had so great a share in gaining the field at Clontarf, which was as memorable an action as most that have been recorded in history *. Instead of paying these
valiant

* There is a passage mentioned by Keating, extracted from a letter said to be sent to Colman, by Malachy, king of Meath, who withdrew his forces on that fatal day, containing a description of the battle of which he was an eye-witness, and which, I have here subjoined, in order to give the reader some idea of that desperate engagement. "I never, says he, beheld with my eyes (nor in history,) an account of a sharper and bloodier fight than this memorable action: Nor if an angel from Heaven would descend and relate the circumstances of it, could you without difficulty be induced to give credit to it: I withdrew my troops under my command, and was no otherwise concerned than a spectator;—I stood at no greater

distance than the breadth of a fallow field and a ditch; when the powerful armies engaged, and grappled in close fight. It was dreadful to behold how the swords glittered over their heads being struck with the sun's rays, which gave them the appearance of a numerous flock of white sea-gulls, flying in the air. The strokes were so mighty, and the fury of the combatants so terrible, that great quantities of hair torn or cut off from their heads, by their sharp weapons, was driven far off by the wind, and their spears and battle-axes were so encumbered with hair, cemented together with clotted blood, that it was scarcely possible to clear or bring them to their former brightness.

valiant men the honours they justly merited as deliverers of their country, instead of receiving them every where with shouts of joy and applause, we find them worried like wild beasts, and pursued with all the virulence of malice, even to their own country, whilst not a single town or district seems willing to rise in their defence, or to cover their retreat, a body of men that was headed by a son of their beloved monarch, a valiant band yet red with those painful wounds they had received in rescuing their country from ruin. Would not one imagine that the whole land had been in league with the Danes; or would not one conclude that they had renounced all alliance with humanity? Can any man read these accounts and wonder that the Irish were so often harrassed and at last subdued by foreign powers? Is it not much more surprising that they were not sooner conquered, and that they did not bow their necks to the most abject slavery.

It is vain for a people to boast of their high spirit, and to tell us "That they delight in war," if they will not suffer that spirit to be guided by reason, if they do not conduct their wars with some regard to the rules of prudence and of justice. But the character of the Irish nation, when taken collectively, seems to have borne but too striking a resemblance to that of one of the chiefs mentioned in the first book of this history, * whose warlike enthusiasm was so great that he made no distinction between friends and foes on the

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* Lugad Laga, who assisted Cormac, the son of Art, in the recovery of the monarchy, but whose unbridled fury in the time of action, if we may believe historians, was such that Cormac dressed his servant in his own habit, in order to deceive him, fearing the warrior

might otherwise do him a mischief, and the event was answerable to his expectation; for, presenting the supposed monarch with the head of his enemy, whom he had slain, he threw it at him with such violence, that it fractured his skull, and killed him on the spot.

the day of battle.—It is owing to this ungoverned spirit, and to their rooted dislike of discipline and command, that, in much later periods than those I am now speaking of, all Europe has with surprize beheld the Irish when possessed of great advantages, foiled in their own land; whilst those of their countrymen who were incorporated in the troops of foreign nations have been ever the greatest support of the armies in which they served, and have been justly acknowledged as some of the best officers and soldiers in the world.—For abroad these warriors are generally ready to unite hand and heart (laying aside all distinction) for the honour of their country, and for the benefit of the prince they serve, whilst at home they have been ever split into parties and factions, and being ever ready to dispute with their friends, have often fallen a prey to their enemies.—Abroad they could have no pretence in reason to refuse submission to established rules and ordinances, but at home they were too impatient of controul to suffer that superiority of command, which it is always necessary for a king to have over his subjects, and perhaps still more so for a general to exercise at the head of his army, and which alone can insure good order in a state, or victory to a courageous army.

A. D. 815.
Malachy restored.

But, to return to the history.—After the fatal battle of Clontarf, it stands recorded that the deposed Malachy reassumed the character of monarch by free consent and election of the states assembled.—A remarkable instance this of fickleness and want of judgement. Malachy had been deposed—because he was *not able* to defend his country against the invaders. He was restored—because he was *not willing* to do so;—because he had taken measures to *betray* it. Surely that maxim,

maxim, *That the voice of the people is the voice of God*, failed here; for instead of acting according to the dictates of Heaven, the whole Irish nation acted contrary to all the rules of honour and of common prudence.

Yet it must be owned that the monarch thus restored, took some steps to recommend himself to popular favour; and indeed his behaviour was better than their folly in respect to him deserved. It is not always that success attends upon prudence; something indeed must necessarily be left to Fortune, but those who leave the least to her, most certainly act the wisest part.—To proceed,—Malachy marched to Dublin, which he took, destroyed the inhabitants, and gave the town up to plunder.—But if Malachy thus revenged the common cause upon the Danes, it appears that he likewise carried devastation through the provinces to gratify some private resentment of his own which we do not find accounted for. Indeed after the death of Brian and the dispersion of his army, all was one scene of confusion through the island. The relations given us of the ungoverned spirit which now once again broke out among the Irish, are shocking;—we read of nothing in this period but of one prince or chief rising up against another, and the destruction of their innocent subjects by fire and sword. In the midst of all this, the yet remaining Danes willing to have their share in any plunder, which was likely to be got, made an attempt against the succeeding king of Leinster, who fell in the contest; but his immediate successor, in revenge for this outrage, so totally defeated them, that he put a final period to their strength and interest in Ireland. While these things were passing, Malachy died a natural death, with whom, strictly speaking, the Irish monarchy expired, for though several princes of the

different provinces assumed the title of monarch, yet their claims were so much contested, and their power so limited, that they can be considered only nominally as such, a circumstance which doubtless prepared the way for a revolution so totally different from any yet mentioned, that it entirely changed the face of affairs, and finally overthrew the government.

Various are the accounts we have of Donogh, after his return to Munster. But, on a comparison of all these, I am inclined to judge with a modern writer, that Teig, who was the eldest son of Brian, having been made away with by the men of Ely O'Carrol, and Donogh being with some reason suspected of the murder of his brother, could not yet succeed in his attempt of seating himself upon his father's throne, and finding his own tribe of the Dalgais too weak to support him by force of arms, if they approved his pretensions, he quitted the kingdom, and with some of his followers went over to Germany, where he became the emperor's general, and commanded in his wars, distinguishing himself by his great military skill and courage. From thence returning after a long time spent in the emperor's service, he came to Ireland, where though he was not well received at first, yet at length he found means to win over the people of Munster, who admired his valour whatever opinion they might entertain of his conduct, to give him the crown of Munster and its appendages. As soon as this warlike prince was thus established in the government of his own province, he next aspired to the throne of Ireland, which it is to be remembered his father had filled before, not by any claim of succession, but by the free election of the people. But having now the Momonian force at command, he was not without a support which

which though it did not procure him every thing he grasped at, yet rendered him respectable, caused him to be acknowledged by the entire southern division of the kingdom, and extended his rule to some districts in the northern part : yet a strong party was formed against him by Dermot, king of Leinster, on behalf of Turlogh, the son of his brother Teig, who had been murdered, and who also pretended to the monarchy of Ireland, which in fact neither party had a right to. While at the same time Cuan O'Lochain got possession of the kingdom of Meath, and, as it should seem being joined by some who had not enlisted either under the banners of Donogh or his nephew, extended his power to the country round about him, and is by some considered as the administrator of the affairs of that kingdom. But dying the year after, whatever his power or appointment might be, it could have done little service to the country, which still continued divided between the two rivals of the family of Brian, and exposed as much as ever to all the rage of intestine broils, and civil commotions.—Donogh, on the one part, raising his Momonians, entered Leinster and Ossory, where he committed many depredations, encamped for five days under the walls of Dublin, spoiled the country, and brought away hostages for the submission of the inhabitants. On the other side, the people of Leinster collecting their forces in order to revenge this injury, and making a junction with some malecontents of Munster, carried fire and sword into the territories of Donogh, and burned the city of Waterford.—The king of Bressay likewise made a furious attack on Donogh, but was at length defeated by that prince, and lost his own life, together with the lives of a great number of his bravest followers.

But notwithstanding all the courage and skill of Donogh, the united efforts of the king of Leinster, and of Turlogh proved too much for him. His province being attacked and wasted, and his cause not cordially supported by many who held him as the murderer of his brother, he was obliged to quit that state, in which he could no longer defend himself, and, in his old age, once more to become a wanderer in foreign countries. Leaving Ireland, therefore, he went to Rome, where, as some historians assert, he laid his crown at the pope's feet, promising him to bring the whole island under his subjection, if by his authority his holiness could procure his restoration.—But this not proving answerable to his expectations, as nothing was done in the affair, he took the habit of a religious, in the abbey of St. Stephen, and left his nephew in possession of his kingdom.

A. D.
1064.

Turlogh.

Turlogh, the grandson of Brian Boiroidhe now succeeded, and reigned twenty-two years. He was a pious and virtuous prince, as others besides his own subjects have borne testimony, in particular Lanfranc, at that time archbishop of Canterbury, who highly extols his wisdom and justice. After a tranquil reign he died of a lingering sickness, and his decease paved the way for fresh troubles in the state.

Mortogh,

Mortogh, the son of Turlogh, succeeded his father, but his claim to the monarchy was opposed by Donald, of the Heremonian race, and many dreadful battles we find were the consequences of the dispute, which at last could be no otherwise settled than by that division of Leith Conn and Leith Moghad so often mentioned in this history, by means of which the one was put into possession of the northern and the other of the southern part of the island; yet the title of monarch seems to have

re-

remained with Mortogh, which is the cause, I suppose, why some historians have mentioned his accession to the throne, without taking notice of the division above-mentioned, or of his contests for the crown with his competitor.

In his reign it is said that the nobility and principal persons of the Isle of Man sent messengers to desire that the monarch of Ireland would commission some diligent chief of noble extraction, to come over and take the charge of the government, during the minority of Olave, the son of their late sovereign. Mortogh O'Brian readily granted their request, and sent them Donald, the son of Teig, with Injunctions to govern the kingdom with moderation and tenderness. But as soon as he was advanced to the sovereignty, he behaved so ill, that the people of the island thought fit to banish him.

Though he (Mortogh) bore an extreme good character, and besides seems to have shewn himself capable enough of government, yet according to some accounts, towards the latter part of his reign, he did not find the regal dignity worth his keeping. — Whether it was that the divided empire he held with Donald, or the ambitious views of Turlogh, then king of Connaught, filled him with anxiety; or whether the pains of a lingering disease rendered him unable to relish greatness, is not clearly known: but about two years before his decease, we find this prince retiring to the monastery of Lismore; and after a little while taking the habit of a monk at Ardmagh, and spending the remainder of his days in acts of piety and devotion, *

After

* Keating tells us, "This monarch summoned a general assembly of all the nobility and clergy of his kingdom, and required them, by his royal summons, to meet him at a place called Fiadh Mac Naongula.

The clergy of the island, who appeared in that convention, consisted of the persons following: Maolmuire O'Dunagain, archbishop of the province of Munster; Cealach Mac Hugh, the convert of St. Patrick, and

Donald V. After the decease of Mortogh, according to the best accounts, his competitor Donald was considered as monarch, though it was much to be questioned whether he really gained any additional power or dominion by that prince's death;—his own happened about two years after, and made way for Turlogh, king of Connaught, to claim the supreme authority.

Turlogh the Great.

It was a long time however before he was able to bring the different kings and chiefs under his subjection, which, as Warner observes, is probably the cause why we find the Irish writers mention a kind of inter-regnum of fifteen years, which it is hardly probable that a prince of Turlogh's spirit and ambition would suffer.

During

and vicar-general to the primate of Armagh; eight other bishops of inferior dioceses, three hundred and sixty priests and priors, one hundred and forty deacons, and many other religious persons of all orders. In this convention were many wholesome laws and regulations established, not only for the government of the clergy, but of the laity likewise, throughout the kingdom. Soon after Maolmuire O'Dunagain, archbishop of the province of Munster, was translated to a better life,

Another general convention was summoned in the reign of Mortogh, king of Ireland, in the year of our redemption one thousand one hundred and fifteen, by Giolla Easbuig, bishop of Limerick, who was then legate of Ireland, and the first person in authority over the whole assembly. The old book of Cluain Aidnach in Leix, gives a particular account of this synodical meeting, and records the principal transactions that were debated and agreed upon in that assembly. This treatise relates, that in that convention it was ordained, that there should be twelve episcopal sees fixed in Leith Mogha, which contained the southern half

of the island, and that the same number of bishops should be appointed in Leith Conn, which included the northern half: it was agreed likewise that two bishops should be settled in the county of Meath. In this convention the revenue of the clergy and the church lands were confirmed to the several bishops of the island, for their maintenance, and support of the episcopal character, which lands were to be exempted from tribute and chief rents, and other public contributions, and so remain in that state of freedom and independency for ever. At this time the boundaries of all the dioceses in that island were distinctly laid out; and it was established, that in the division of Leith Conn, there should be twelve bishops besides the primate, five were fixed in the province of Ulster, five in the province of Connaught, and two in the county of Meath, which make up the whole number. The primate had the government of Armagh, and exercised a spiritual jurisdiction over the whole kingdom, over Clonchar, Ardfratha, Derry, Coisnoire, and Dun da Leath Glas.

During the reign of the two former monarchs, Turlogh was perpetually invading the provinces. Among the rest, having ravaged Munster with a powerful fleet and army, he brought the Momonians so much under subjection, that he forced them to give him hostages,, and undertook to chuse them two chief governors; but these quarrelling with each other, he invaded the province a third time, and meeting Turlogh O'Brian, engaged and defeated him and his army, in which battle the warlike tribe of the Dalgais, that had formerly been the strength and defence, not only of that province, but in a great measure of the whole nation, received a most signal overthrow, and were almost ruined.—Thus did the ambition of the Irish princes, and the restless spirit of their warriors, shed in these intestine wars, that blood which would have flowed more nobly in the defence of their lives and liberties, and advance with hasty strides towards the final dissolution of that government their ancestors had taken so much pains to establish.

Turlogh having made his son king of Meath, made frequent incursions into Leinster and the neighbouring provinces.—He committed great depredations in the county of Tyrconnel, with his army, and laid waste Tyrone with his navy; but at length Mortogh, the son of the last monarch Donald, gave him some checks in the midst of his career; and these princes continued the war, thus commenced, with various success, but, as it seems, upon the whole, with little advantage to Turlogh. For his enemy used that most destructive method of introducing foreign powers, by which means being assisted by the Normans and Scotch, he was able to resist all the attacks of Turlogh, and gave such a check to his arms, that historians say the monarch was obliged to desist from hostilities, and to give hostages for his future good behaviour. Soon after-

afterwards he died, leaving almost all his personal estate to the clergy. He was a prince of a general good character, wise, generous, and a lover of justice; yet the ambitious spirit, common to that period cast a shade upon these virtues; but these were in a great measure rather owing to the times than to the monarch; history therefore should not be backward in doing justice to the virtues he possessed. It is said he imprisoned his own son for some offence he was guilty of, and would not release him from his confinement till the two archbishops of Ardmagh and Cashell, together with eleven bishops, and a great number of the inferior clergy interceded for his liberty;—a striking instance of his impartiality in regard to what concerned his family, and of his rigour in punishing offenders.

Mortogh
IV.

To Turlogh the Great, Mortogh before mentioned may be said to have succeeded in the greatest part of the monarchy of the island; nevertheless Roderic, the son of Turlogh opposed him, made war upon him, invaded his territory of Tyrone, and ravaged all the country. Nor did Munster or Leinster escape his attacks, but his forces at last received several considerable checks from Mortogh, who finally obliged him to a peace; by the terms of which he was confined to his own province, and one half of the kingdom of Meath, which he sold to the king of that district for a certain sum of gold, while Mortogh retained the name, and, in effect, exercised the power of monarch of Ireland, though he had not passed through the ceremonies attendant on the election formerly practised in that country.

But he had not long obtained this dignity before he took occasion unexpectedly to invade the territory of Ulad in the province of Ulster, and though a peace was made at length by mediation, he caused three of the chiefs of that country to

to be assassinated, and the prince's eyes to be put out; in revenge for which treachery the king of Orgial, who had been surety for him, raised a great body of forces, with which he attacked the monarch when least prepared to receive him, routed his troops, and slew him in the engagement.

The next prince that assumed the title of monarch was Roderic O'Connor, the son of Turlogh the Great, and king of Connaught; nor was he content with barely assuming the name, but knowing his own power, and having now no rival to oppose him, he was resolved to be received as such in form, and accordingly called an assembly of the states at Dublin, and where he was elected and inaugurated with the solemn ceremonies, and universally received, though not universally approved, as monarch of Ireland.

A. D.
1166.
Roderic.

Notwithstanding this ceremony being performed, which had not been used since the time of Brian Boiroimhe, and Malachy the Second, yet Roderic quickly said that he did not reign entirely in the affections of the people, for he soon found that some of the provinces were disposed to revolt; and in particular he found it necessary to enter Tyrone, which was governed by the princes of the Niallian race, with such a vast fleet and army, as awed them into subjection; after which he held a general assembly of the states at a place called Athbey, in the county of Meath, for the better regulating the affairs of the kingdom.

But Ireland was now on the point of changing its old laws and constitutions, on the point of becoming subject to a nation that its chiefs never suspected of any design to reduce them; in effect, they were now on the eve of being subdued by the power of the English.

This great event was first brought about by means of what might not improperly be called a private

private quarrel, though it interested a whole nation.—Dermot, king of Leinster, having conceived a violent passion for the wife of Tighernan O'Rourk, king of Breffny, and held secret correspondence with her; taking advantage of her husband's absence, found the means to carry her off with her own consent. Nevertheless it was agreed between them that, to save appearances, she should cry out, and make some shew of resistance, while she was pretty well assured that none of her domestics would oppose the ravisher, who bore her away under the escort of a party of horse, without meeting with any interruption.

When O'Rourk, at his return, was informed of this treachery, he immediately applied to the monarch of Ireland, who, together with the forces of Meath and Ossory, invaded the dominions of Dermot, where they were joined by a number of malecontents whom his government had disgusted; for he had ruled his province like a tyrant, and in consequence was generally disliked by his subjects. Such a force as this being too great for him to withstand, trembling at the storm which was ready to burst over his head, and finding his chiefs and nobles all inclined to desert his cause, he resolved to retire into some foreign country, there to procure, if possible, that aid which his subjects would not afford him; and to return at the head of an army, in order to punish their defection.

Thus situated he turned his thoughts on the English, as being a neighbouring nation renowned for their valour, and whose king he concluded he might win by fair promises to assist him in his arduous undertaking.

Being thus determined, he first passed over to Bristol, and from thence to France, in order to implore the English king's assistance—though at
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the expence of his own submission, to gratify his vindictive disposition,—though at the expence of the freedom of his country.

Henry the Second, the son of the empress Matilda, then reigned over England, a prince of a great and enterprising spirit. He claimed the crown in right of his mother, who was the daughter of Henry the First, to whom though the barons had sworn fealty in her father's life-time, yet after his decease, they suffered Stephen to usurp the throne. Passing over from Germany to assert her right against him, she had a long and bloody contention, her affairs being managed by her brother, the earl of Gloucester. These contests having continued a long time with various successes, Stephen at length received a signal overthrow, and was made prisoner, a circumstance which bade fair to put an end to the war; but, not long after, the empress's brother met with the same ill fortune. In consequence of this event, the two princes were exchanged; but Matilda's interest began to decline in England, chiefly on account of her arbitrary behaviour, when most of the kingdom was in her possession. After experiencing many dangers and embarrassments, (not the least of which was her being on the point of suffering a surprize in her own palace at Westminster) her brother being dead, this princess quitted England, and withdrawing to the continent, employed all her care in educating Henry her son, as a hero, to whom, when at a proper age, she gave up her claim to the English crown, which he well knew how to support.

Henry had long wars in Normandy with the continental princes; these had inured him to arms; and his frequent treaties with them had taught him the business of negotiations. Thus accomplished,

plished, he left his Norman dominions, and arrived in England, at a critical juncture, when the spirits of his mother's party were drooping, and when some of her best friends were shut up and besieged in the town of Wallingford;—These he relieved by throwing succours into the place, and, after some other successes, offered Stephen battle, at the head of all his troops;—But the earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great eloquence as well as valour, prevented the armies from engaging, by proposing terms of accommodation, the purport of which was: That Stephen should wear the crown during his life, on condition of adopting Henry for his son and successor, and confirming the sovereignty to him after his own decease.—After some hesitation, and much persuasion, these terms were accepted and sworn to by both parties: Eustace, the son of Stephen, had indeed protested against them, and withdrawing himself from his father's camp, raised a body of forces to support his claim:—but he was stopped in the beginning of his career by death, while his soldiers were pillaging the country.—Nor did Stephen himself very long survive this agreement, but dying in the fiftieth year of his age, no obstacle remaining to bar his succession, Henry ascended the throne, by election, adoption, and hereditary right. This prince who had experienced both prosperity and adversity, joining the policy of a statesman to the courage of a hero, had long cast his eyes upon Ireland (if we may believe historians) as a most desirable acquisition; with the value of which he did not seem unacquainted; but it would have been quite inconsistent with the political character of that prince to have made an attack upon a neighbouring island, then at peace with England, without some cause or pretension whereon to ground a quarrel, and without some favourable

favourable circumstance whereon to ground the rational hopes of conquest; and therefore he waited, as we are told, till some opportunity should offer of carrying his design into execution, but he waited in such a manner as evinced that he was ready to take advantage of the first that offered.

Henry was in Aquitaine, when Dermot, king of Leinster repaired to him, imploring in the character of a distressed sovereign, his royal aid against his rebellious subjects, by which alone he could hope to be reinstated in his kingdom.—Nothing could be more welcome to the king of England than such an application; but he concealed his joy, and was very cautious how he granted Dermot's request.—Yet this caution did not arise from any examination into the merits of the cause, but rather from a desire of trying what advantage might be hoped from interfering in this quarrel before he absolutely engaged himself and his people in a war with the Irish nation. For this purpose, having received an oath of fealty from Dermot, who engaged to hold his dominions as a fief from the crown of England, instead of raising an army directly for the intended Irish expedition, the wary monarch gave him letters patent indited in the following manner:—

“ Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to all his liegemen, English, Norman, Welch, and Scotch, and to all the nations under his dominion, greeting.—When these letters shall come to your hands, know ye that we have received Dermot, prince of Leinster, into the bosom of our grace and benevolence; wherefore, whosoever in the ample extent of all our territories, shall be willing to assist in restoring that prince, as our vassal and liegeman, let such persons know that we do hereby

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grant to him our licence and favour for the said undertaking.”—

These letters being expedited, Dermot returned to England, and fixed his residence at Bristol, waiting only till he could collect, by virtue of the patent, sufficient succours to enable him to return to Ireland. And it was some time before he saw any prospect of success;—probably he had waited much longer, had not Richard Clare, earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, come into his interests, and embarked in his cause, on a promise Dermot made him of giving him his daughter in marriage, and confirming to him the right of succession of his kingdom of Leinster, on condition that the earl would with all speed put himself at the head of a strong body of forces, in order to assist in his restoration,—an offer too fair to be refused by that nobleman, who, though one of the greatest barons in the land, was at that time much embarrassed in his private fortune, which this expedition seemed to point out a way for him suddenly to retrieve.

A. D.
1168.

After this negotiation confirmed by mutual contract, the Irish prince left Bristol, and proceeded towards Wales; he then engaged two persons of great rank and distinction in his cause;—these were Maurice Fitzgerald, and Robert Fitz Stephen, the sons of a princess of South-Wales, who had formerly had an amour with king Henry the First of England, and was mother to the earl of Gloucester. This lady was afterwards married to Gerald of Windsor, an English knight, and the fruits of that marriage was Maurice Fitz-Gerald; after the death of whose father being united to Stephen, constable of Cardigan castle, Fitz-Stephen was the offspring of this second marriage. This noble youth, after the decease of his father, succeeded to his office, but being unfortunately made

made prisoner by Rice ap Gryffiths, prince of Wales, he could not obtain his release on any other terms than these of joining his party. The brothers therefore fearing the resentment which Henry might shew towards their family on his return from Normandy, judged it proper to embark in this expedition, chusing rather to encounter foreign dangers, than to risque the fury of an offended monarch.—Besides, the terms which Dermot offered were too advantageous to be rejected, for he promised to give them in fee, reserving homage to himself, the city of Wexford, and two cantreds (or hundreds) adjoining, if they would levy a band of men to assist him in his undertaking. And when the prince had received their assurances of accepting his proposal, he went over to Leinster, where he lay concealed in the monastery of Femes, on the watch for intelligence, and holding an underhand correspondence with such of his partisans as he judged might properly be confided in. There he passed the winter of that year. But as he found by what he could learn, that the province had been in a very unsettled state since his retreat, and all things seemed to favour his purpose, he sent very early the next spring to hasten the coming of Fitz-Stephen and his brother with their Welch forces, ordering his messenger to treat likewise with all such persons, of any nation or degree as were willing to enlist under his banners, by which conduct a small band of Welch, and Flemings settled in Wales, were drawn together, who immediately embarked and arrived safely in Ireland. With these he made some attempts which were likely to procure him little advantage, because Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald were not then ready to join him with their forces: however, the monarch of Ireland who had assembled his troops in order to oppose him, after

ter a skirmish or two, was brought to a treaty, by which Dermot was allowed the possession of ten cantreds or hundreds out of thirty-one in the province of Leinster, on submitting to the monarch and paying O'Rourke an hundred ounces of gold, for his protection.—Hostages being given, on the part of Dermot, for the security of his future fidelity, the Irish army was drawn off, and he was left in quiet possession of all that had been allowed him by the treaty. Some time after indeed Roderic again assembled his forces in consequence of an information he received of a great body of English being landed; but as he soon found by more certain intelligence that this piece of news was premature, he hastily disbanded them, which left the kingdom more open to the subsequent invasion.

For in the beginning of May that year, which was as soon as they could get their preparation ready, Fitz Stephen, with thirty knights of his own following, sixty men at arms, and three hundred skilful archers, collected in South Wales, landed on an island in Banough bay, near Wexford. With him came Hervey of Mountmaurice, and the next day Maurice de Prendregast, a knight of Pembroke, landed at the same place, with ten horsemen and a body of archers. The earl and Fitz-Gerald promising to follow as soon as their levies should be completed.

As soon as Dermot heard that these succours were landed, he sent one of his sons to meet them, and soon after appeared himself, at the head of five hundred of his best provincial troops.—And after having received an oath of fealty from the foreigners, led them to assault the city of Wexford. The place was inhabited by the Ostmen (or Easterlings) who at first, to the number of two thousand, made a sally with shew of great resistance;

sistance; but seeing the excellent disposition of the enemies troops, and astonished at the glittering of their arms, which were far superior to their own, both for use and ornament, struck with terror, they receded, and, setting fire to their suburbs, threw themselves into the town with precipitation. Encouraged by their success, the allies made a furious attack on the place, but were repulsed with great bravery.—Upon this they burned the ships lying before the town, and desisting for the present from their enterprise, retreated, without the ostmen daring to follow or interrupt them.

The next day, after masses having been said in order to implore the blessing of Heaven upon this unjust undertaking, the troops again approached the walls, but in a more cautious manner, as if they intended to sap them; when the citizens (notwithstanding they had before repulsed the assailants) fearing every thing from their military skill and resolution, made a motion to capitulate, and two Irish bishops being chosen to mediate for them with Dermot, obtained a peace, on condition of their surrendering the place, and giving hostages for their future obedience and good behaviour, under the dominion of the king of Leinster.

Thus was Wexford taken, which Dermot, according to his promise, bestowed with the two adjoining cantreds on Fitz-Stephen for him and his brother, giving Harvey of Mountmaurice two other cantreds on the sea coast, in reward for his services.—Thus that prince began already to parcel out the lands to foreigners, resolving to spare no bounty that might win them to continue the war, in the course of which he thought he might well recompense himself for any lands resigned to them, by the power and dominion he hoped to acquire, as he aimed at no less than to conquer province after province, and to make himself more effectually

than any had been before him, real and absolute monarch of Ireland.

The people of Offory next felt his fury. Fitz-Patrick, their prince, had intrenched himself in such a manner among the woods and bogs in the interior parts of his country, that the joint force of the men of Leinster, and their English auxiliaries, was not sufficient to dislodge him; but his troops growing bolder from the frequent repulses their enemies sustained, forgot what was their proper security, and rashly sallied forth into the open plain, were soon routed with a great slaughter. Yet, being pursued, they made again a desperate stand, and so embarrassed the English in a marshy ground, that it was with the greatest difficulty they delivered themselves by their own skill and valour, their Irish allies having deserted them, and withdrawn till the danger was over, when they appeared again, and joined with great ardour in the pursuit of a flying enemy.

If we may believe what is related concerning the king of Leinster's behaviour that day, it must give us the highest idea of his cruel and barbarous disposition. Two hundred heads being cut off and brought to him in the midst of the action, he is said to have leaped for joy, and to have abused the ear of Heaven with an impious act of enthusiasm.—Lifting his bloody hands towards the skies, he sang aloud a hymn of thanksgiving over the mangled remains of those unfortunate men, whom his ambition had brought to an untimely end. At the same time that, transported with a rage better becoming a wild beast than a warrior, he bit off the nose and lips from the face of one of those whom most he hated. A shocking instance of the effects of an unbounded passion, joined to a most savage and implacable spirit, which could occasion a man

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to carry his resentments beyond death itself, and to disgrace the very name of humanity.

The British allies of Dermod must doubtless have beheld this shocking and impious behaviour with astonishment; but it is one of the evil effects of war too much to steel the breast against the tender feelings; and notwithstanding the maxim which its votaries so strongly inculcate, "That generosity and compassion are always the concomitants of true heroism;"—yet it is certain they are not always the concomitants of a warlike disposition; and however the auxiliaries of the king of Leinster might have disapproved his savage transport, yet were they too much accustomed to scenes of blood and horror, to think of hazarding a breach with him by their rebukes or public disapprobation of his indecent carriage;—on the contrary, we find that they joined with him, hand and heart, in the acquisition of new conquests, rather rejoicing in the warlike spirit of their ally, than struck with horror at the thoughts of his cruel and savage disposition.

But while these things were transacted in one part of Ireland, the monarch had busied himself in calling a council to consider on the posture of affairs, in another. The result of the consultation was, that an army should immediately be assembled, to check the progress of Dermod and the foreigners; and Roderic was now advancing fast upon them with his forces. As soon as this was known, many of the Irish forsook the standard of the king of Leinster; but Fitz-Stephen, and his followers, remained still firmly fixed to his party.—However, hearing what preparations had been made against them, taking example by the natives themselves, they retired to a valley in the neighbourhood of Fernes, which was encompassed with woods and logs, where they meant to make a resolute defence.—

defence.—Roderic coming up, and finding them thus posted, did not chuse to make an attack upon them till he had first tried what might be done by negotiation; and accordingly endeavoured, by all the arts he was master of, to make a separate peace with either of the parties*. But in this design he miscarried, for neither party would listen to his proposals; whereupon he prepared for a battle, but the fame of the Britons, and the strength of their camp tending to dispirit his men, by the interposition of some ecclesiastics, who imagined that they foresaw in this spirit of opposition the ruin of their country, (though, in effect, it would have been the only means to preserve it) the monarch was prevailed upon to renew the negotiation, even after he had disposed all things for the attack. In consequence of the situation of Dermot, a treaty was accordingly made, by the terms of which it was agreed—That he should be restored to his kingdom of Leinster, which he was to hold under fealty to Roderic, as monarch of Ireland; and, in return, he promised to call over no more foreigners into the island, by a secret article, also stipulating to get

* On this occasion, Roderic is said to have sent Fitz-Stephen the following letter:—“The Britons may not by law of arms display their ensigns in foreign possessions, nor dispossess the lawful heirs of their inheritance; but they are, with licence of the Irish, to pack home. It is a blemish to their nation to give aid to a shameful fact; neither may the lechery of Dermot be mantled under British cloaks. Wherefore depart, and forsake him that is forsaken of God and man; and here, by my messenger, receive to defray your charges, and transport you to your native soil.”

To this address Fitz-Stephen, who was resolved by no means to forsake Dermot, or to quit his hope of conquest in Ireland, returned this answer, which the candid reader will

easily perceive, without my observation upon it, to be founded on principles fraught with false arguments; and tho’ written at a time when the writer was in embarrassments, yet breathing defiance, and replete with all the insolence of a disdainful conqueror.

“Your present I will not accept; nor will I break the faith and troth I have promised to my friend Dermot: he forsakes not me, I will not forsake him, neither leave him distressed. You speak of lechery; what is that among martial men? I hear you have bastards yourself. To what end is your embassy? If Roderic give counsel, we need it not; if he prophesy, we credit not his oracle; if he command as a prince, we obey not his authority; if he threaten as an enemy, a fig for his monarchy!”

get rid of those, who were already with him, as soon as he should be peaceably settled in his possessions; and, amongst other hostages for the performance of this promise, the king of Leinster delivered his own son into the hands of the monarch, who, having concluded this treaty, withdrew with all his army.

But Maurice Fitz-Gerald soon after landing at Wexford with ten knights and about one hundred and thirty horsemen and archers, Dermot, without paying any regard to what had passed between the monarch and himself, received this new ally with great joy, and immediately engaged his assistance in the execution of a design he had formed of laying waste the territories of Dublin, in revenge for an affront the Easterlings, who inhabited that district, had given to his family, by revolting from his father, to whom they had promised fealty, but whom they killed, and afterwards, by way of indignity, buried his body with that of a dog. Offences of this kind are seldom forgotten, and Dermot was so far from adopting the Christian maxim of forgiving an injury, that it was his greatest happiness when he could alledge one, by way of colour for invading the territories of his neighbours. Therefore, for this ill treatment of his father, and some other more recent offences, he ravaged the lands of the citizens, and put many innocent and unarmed persons to the sword. But, for this time, they were delivered from his fury by a resolution he had formed to assist Donald, prince of Limerick, who was his son-in-law, and who was now in open arms against Roderic, (though Roderic was his own brother) on account of a dispute between them concerning the division of Munster between himself and Mac Carthy, prince of Desmond. For this reason Dermot entered into a treaty with the Ostmen, by which he consented to leave the government of Dublin to their countryman Hasculf, and im-

immediately dispatched Fitz Stephen to the aid of the prince of Limerick; by which means the latter was enabled to support himself against Roderic, who, after several defeats, retired into the province of Connaught.

When Dermot considered these successes, he began to be impatient to pursue his first design of aspiring to the Irish monarchy, which some of his ancestors had enjoyed. But communicating his design to Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald, they advised him for the present to sit down contented with what he had already gained, till more forces should arrive from Britain; and, in the interim, as the most likely method of forwarding his scheme, they persuaded him to write a letter to the earl of Pembroke, pressing him to bring over now (in the autumn) those forces which he had promised to land in the spring; and at the same time informing him of his good success, and intimating that if he would come over speedily, the conquest of all Ireland was not a business too great for them in consort to attempt.

The earl received this letter with great pleasure; but conceiving that what had been done already was rather stretching the power granted in king Henry's patent, before he embarked for Ireland, he went to Normandy, where he sought out that prince, and asked his permission to accept the invitation that Dermot had offered him. To this request Henry returned an equivocal answer, which, however, the earl very politically chose to construe into a grant of his petition; and accordingly, coming back to England, he waited an opportunity of embarking on this expedition. In the May following he sent before him a band of knights and archers under the command of Raymond, a gentleman of his own household, who was related to Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald; but these had

had no sooner landed near Waterford, than the townsmen under the conduct of O'Faolan, a chief of Munster, attacked a fort which they had hastily raised of turf and wood, thinking easily to storm it, and at once to crush these invaders. And this they certainly might have done, if they had made the assault with veteran troops, or behaved with more caution in the action. But Raymond, perceiving they advanced very disorderly, and holding them in great contempt, marched directly out of the fortress to give them battle.—He set upon them in the open field, where they were drawn out to the number of about two hundred, with great impetuosity, but he soon found his mistake, for they received and returned his charge with equal firmness and ardour, and he was obliged to retreat and seek the fort with more haste than he had left it. The pursuers followed so closely that his soldiers had not time to close the gates, and the enemy being absolutely on the point of entering with them, it was plain that there could be no safety any longer in flight. Driven to this extreme, therefore, like a stag at bay, Raymond suddenly faced about, and called to his followers to do the same.—Their situation was argument sufficient to prevail upon them to obey him: all those therefore who were eagerly crowding to get into the fort, turning unexpectedly, attacked the enemy, who being disordered with the pursuit, and little dreaming of such a charge from the flying troops, were soon repulsed and overcome by the forced valour of those whom they had driven to despair,—and now recoiling in their turn, fell back on those in their rear, (for though only two hundred had advanced to the attack, yet they were but a part of a much greater body of men, who were ready to support them) The consequence was confusion, to increase which Raymond again sallied

salied forth, and attacked the whole army with such vigour, that the rout became general, and he gained a complete victory over all their forces. Above five hundred were cut in pieces in the pursuit, a great number were drowned, and several of the principal citizens made prisoners.

But the glory of this victory was sullied by the barbarous usage of these unhappy captives, whom though Raymond was inclined to spare, they were put to death at the instigation of Hervy de Mountmaurice, being condemned to have their limbs broken, and then to be cast into the sea; a most inhuman sentence, which was accordingly executed in all its rigour, a cruel punishment, inflicted on men for no other cause than because they strove to defend their own possessions, and annoy the profest invaders of their property!—And a crime which, as a modern writer observes, the majesty of the king on his arrival ought most severely to have punished!

When the earl of Pembroke had completed his levies in South-Wales, he led his men to Milford Haven, where, when he was just ready to embark them, he received a positive order from king Henry to go no farther. But, animated with the hopes of achieving honour, and gaining great acquisitions, Strongbow slighted the order, and proceeding on his voyage, landed on the twenty-third of August near Waterford, without opposition; the inhabitants having shut themselves up in the town ever since their defeat, and the English in the fort being masters of the open country.

The earl allowed his troops but a day's refreshment before he attacked the town, without waiting for Dermod's joining him, being willing to have all the honour of such an enterprize entirely to himself.—He took it by storm, and when the streets were filled with blood and slaughter, the

the Danes retreating to a strong tower, the earl took that also, and made Reginald, the Danish governor prisoner. After this exploit, (Dermot, Fitz Stephen, and their troops arriving,) he claimed the king's promise, espoused his daughter Eva that very day, and the night was spent in festivity and rejoicing, though the morning had opened with scenes of war and bloodshed.—Thus Dermot kept his word with Strongbow; and this is one of the foundations of the claim of the English kings to the dominion of Ireland, the earl having afterwards resigned his pretensions in that island to his sovereign.

But while the king of Leinster was thus triumphing at Waterford, he received intelligence that his presence was highly necessary in another quarter; for Hasculf whom he had left governor of Dublin, had revolted and had drawn to his side a vast number of the Irish, who formed a large army, while the monarch lay encamped at no great distance from the city. Therefore the king instantly set forward with the principal part of his forces, and, by very expeditious marches through windings along the tops of the mountains, and roads unoccupied by the Irish, they arrived before Dublin, which Hasculf had fortified as well as he could.—But at this juncture the monarch very unwisely raised his camp, in order to quell Donald O'Brian, who, by the intelligence he had just then received, was laying Connaught waste.—This was a very imprudent step, as the event proved, for Hasculf having trusted more to the Irish army than to his own garrison or fortifications, began to treat of peace as soon as they retired; but while this negotiation was going forward on one side of the city, Miles Cogan entered it by a breach on the other, and a terrible slaughter of the citizens was begun, while the inhabitants
who

who were off their guard, thinking a peace as good as concluded, were not in a condition to make any defence. The governor himself, however escaped, with many of the principal people, retreating to their shipping, which, by the benefit of a favouring gale, soon transported them to the Orkney islands.*—The city was plundered, and the massacre continued till Dermod himself forbade it, who, by the advice of Strongbow, gave the government of it to Miles Cogan, after which the allies turned their arms to other parts, laying waste the territory of Meath, the government of which had been given to O'Rourk by the monarch, and expelling the prince of Ossory and other chiefs from their lands, carrying terror and dismay wherever they went: on which account Roderic sent Dermod the following letter:—

“Against the purport of the treaty concluded between us, you have called over a great number of foreigners into the country; notwithstanding which, while you kept within the limits of your own kingdom of Leinster, we bore it patiently. But since, regardless of your oath, or compassion for your hostage delivered into our hands, you have insolently passed the bounds prescribed, and the confines of your country, we give you notice either to restrain in future the excursions of the foreigners, or expect that we will most certainly send you the head of your son, cut off by our command.”

But it was too late for threats to work up the mind of Dermod.—By the help of his allies he thought himself secure of conquest and therefore made answer, That he would not lay down his arms till he had conquered all Connaught, and acquired for himself the monarchy of Ireland, which he claimed from his grandfather, Murtogh O'Brian.

Historians

* He afterwards returned from thence, and made an attack upon Dublin, but being taken prisoner, had his head struck off by the English.

Historians differ in their account of Roderic's conduct in consequence of the receipt of this letter; but, according to the best accounts, Roderic was too merciful to execute his threat, which if he had done, though the innocent must have suffered for the guilty, yet most certainly he would have been justified by the laws of arms, which were more observed at that time, than those of justice and humanity.—

The clergy of Ardmagh being convened in council, it was mentioned that certain Irish pirates having taken some English children, and enslaved them, this had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven upon the nation, and given the English a pretence for invading the island, upon which suggestion a command was immediately issued “That all English slaves in the whole extent of Ireland should presently be set free.”

About this time, Henry who was much offended, at Strongbow's contempt of his royal orders, and still more jealous of his conquests in Ireland, published an edict forbidding the English to carry on any commerce with that island, and moreover ordering all his subjects who had resorted thither, to return to their native country by the ensuing Easter, on pain of perpetual banishment, and confiscation of all their effects.

The earl being much disconcerted at this event, (which however one should think was no more than might be expected from a master of Henry's ambitious spirit) dispatched Raymond to that monarch, who was then in Normandy, with a submissive letter, which concluded thus :

“Whatsoever the favour of Fortune may have bestowed on me, of the patrimony of Dermot or any other, as I owe it entirely to your royal munificence, so shall it all return to you and be disposed of according to your absolute will and pleasure.”

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In the interim Dermod made another expedition into O'Rourk's county, in attempting to storm whose camp he was repulsed with loss and disgrace, and returned to Leinster, leaving his friend Donald O'Melachlin to oppose O'Rourk; whom the latter quickly drove out of the province.

In the midst of this war, kindled by his own ungoverned passion, died this Dermod, king of Leinster, who after having made use of the most unjustifiable methods of obtaining the supreme dominion of Ireland, was obliged to leave his project unfinished, having executed just so much of it as rendered his memory odious to all good men, and contributed to the final overthrow of a kingdom, which had lasted for many ages, and had repelled the most terrible invasions.

On Dermod's decease, the earl of Pembroke immediately took possession of his private estate, and of the government of Leinster, and marched immediately to Dublin, in order to get his title recognized; but now he found a great falling off among the Irish chiefs, scarcely any of whom chose to acknowledge or assist him, which the monarch perceiving, quickly levied a great force, and besieged him in Dublin.—In the mean while, Fitz-Stephen, governor of Wexford, having greatly weakened his garrison by detaching troops to his assistance, the Irish took the fort; and having slain many of his soldiers, made Fitz Stephen himself prisoner.

And now Dublin was invested by sea and land; for the chief of the Isle of Man, by Roderic's solicitation, blocked up the harbour, and the conquerors, in their turn, began to be distressed, and offered to capitulate, on condition that Strongbow should be permitted to hold Leinster as a feudatory tenure of Roderic, who, in consequence of this submission, was to draw off his army and raise the siege immediately.

But

But the Irish being flushed with the hopes of entirely extirpating the foreigners, refused to grant those terms, and Roderic sent word to the earl by the archbishop whom he had employed to treat of the capitulation, That unless he would surrender Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford, together with all his fortified castles, and promise, on a day appointed, to quit the island with all his men, he would immediately storm the city.—This answer threw the whole assembly into confusion, who, on the one hand, were mortified to the last degree with the thoughts of submitting to such terms, whilst, on the other hand, they could not but be terrified at the fate which seemed impending over their heads, in case they should reject them; for they had little mercy to expect from the Irish if the city should be taken by assault, and perhaps they did not think there was much safety in a reliance upon their promises, if laying down all their power, they should deliver themselves entirely into their hands; and it was doing little less to give up the places which Roderic demanded of them. All the English were in this dilemma, when Miles Cogan, a man of great address, who had been the chief instrument of taking Dublin, exclaimed, “We are a considerable number of able men; our best remedy is to make a sally, which is least expected by the enemy; and I hope, by the goodness of God, that we shall have the victory, or at least die with honour, and I desire that I may be the first man to attack their quarters.”

This advice being approved by the council of war, immediate orders were given for the chiefs to put their men in order, the whole number amounting only to six hundred.—Miles Cogan was appointed to lead the van, Raymond commanded
P the

the centre, and the earl of Pembroke brought up the rear. Thus disposed, they marched directly towards the Irish camp, which they attacked with such fury that the enemy being quite unprepared, quickly gave way, and were put to flight, having one hundred and fifty soldiers slain, and leaving their camp together with their baggage and provision behind them, to the disposal of the conquerors, who lost (it is said) but one man in the action. Thus was the siege raised by the valour of Miles Cogan, whom the earl now left to take charge of the government of it; whilst he himself marched with a chosen band to Wexford, in order to succour Fitz-Stephen, whom he expected to find employed in the defence of that place. But Fitz-Stephen being made prisoner, and the place surrendered, he came too late.— However, on his approach, the inhabitants set the town on fire, and withdrew to an island, where they knew they could be safe from any attack of the earl's: yet, not satisfied with that security, they sent him a solemn declaration, that if he dared to follow them to their retreat, they would instantly present him with the heads of Fitz-Stephen and the rest of their prisoners. After receiving such a message, Strongbow, who was a brave and generous man, and at least valued his friend's life as much as he did his own, changed his route, and directed his course towards Waterford, where he found Hervey de Mountmaurice arrived from England, who brought him letters from his correspondents, that advised him without delay to repair to the king, and make his peace with him, before he attempted to proceed any farther with his conquests.

Accordingly, the earl repaired directly to England, and found Henry at Newnham in Gloucestershire. At first the king who was highly incensed

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at the contempt of his order, appeared quite irreconcilable, till, by the mediation of Hervey de Mountmaurice, he was at last prevailed upon to admit him into his presence, and after a long conference, to receive him again into favour, the following conditions being then stipulated between them:—That the earl should renew his homage to his liege-lord, and surrender to him in full and absolute property, the city of Dublin, with the cantreds adjoining as well as all the other sea-port towns, with the castles and fortresses, which he possessed in that country; the rest of his acquisitions there, remaining to him and his heirs, under homage and fealty to the crown of England. And at the same time the king agreed to restore to that nobleman those estates of his, which had been seized upon, as forfeited, in England. After this, Henry and the earl went together to Peinbroke, while ships were getting ready in order to transport an army into Ireland, which the former had set on foot even before the arrival of the latter in England.

While these preparations were making in England and Wales, O'Rourk, king of Bressny, collected together in haste a numerous army of Irish, with which he ventured to assault Dublin; but while these were rushing on with loud shouts in a furious and disorderly manner, to storm the city, Miles Cogan sallied out at the head of a small troop of veterans, and charged them with great impetuosity, so that these new levies not being able to stand the shock, were quickly routed with great slaughter, and O'Rourk's son, a valiant young prince, was among the slain.—This attack miscarrying, we hear of no more attempts of the Irish of any consequence, nor any farther hostilities carried on against the English in Leinster; all being quiet till the arrival of
P 2 king

king Henry at Waterford, who landing five hundred knights, and a considerable body of archers from above four hundred ships, at once decided the fate of the island.

To this prince the citizens of Wexford brought their prisoner Fitz-Stephen, as a criminal who, without the orders of his sovereign, had disturbed that peace which had existed between England and Ireland for many centuries. Henry received them with the greatest kindness, and very politickly severely reprimanded and terribly menaced the accused for his presumption in daring to act so rash a part; and, whether it were that Fitz-Stephen thought his master's anger feigned, or that he was conscious of having exceeded the limitation of the letters patent, he never mentioned those letters in his defence, but as if he entirely submitted his cause to the judgement of his sovereign, suffered his accusers to enjoy their triumph, himself being sent away loaden with chains, and ordered to be kept close prisoner, till he should answer for his misdemeanours.

Henry proceeding from Waterford to Cashell, was met on the banks of the river Shure, by Donald O'Brian, king of Limerick, who there swore fealty to him, and agreed to pay tribute, as likewise did the prince of Ossory, and the chiefs of the southern division of Ireland. From thence returning to Waterford, he suffered himself to be prevailed on to set Fitz-Stephen at liberty, but took from him Wexford, as being a sea-port town, and annexed it to his own royal demesne.

Afterwards the king marched to Dublin, where it is said that he was very joyfully received by the citizens, whose trade depended much upon their connexion with England, and who probably would have received the first settlers with hospitality instead of enmity, if they had not approached

proached their city in a hostile manner, in order to support the claims of a tyrant, who was generally hated even by his own subjects.—But Henry charmed them with his moderation, by which means he appeared rather as a friend than a conqueror to those unhappy citizens who had suffered so much by the depredations of his subjects.—Hither came O'Rourk, and many princes of the north of Ireland, who swore fealty to him as the rest had done. Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, and monarch of Ireland, was the last who made his submission, as being unwilling to yield up his sovereign power to a foreign potentate; yet, at length he was likewise persuaded to come in, and met Hugh de Lacey and William Fitz-Aldelm, who were commissioned to settle the tribute he was to pay, and to receive his allegiance.—

Thus was the whole country brought under subjection to Henry, without his shedding a drop of blood, which was partly owing to the extraordinary juncture of circumstances that militated for him, and partly to the invincible valour of Strongbow and his adherents.—We have already mentioned that the king had cast his eyes upon Ireland as a desirable acquisition, which he only waited a favourable opportunity of attempting. But this was not all, for, if we believe some historians, he sent John of Salisbury to pope Adrian, who procured his holiness's bull for the undertaking, which, however, Henry kept by him for some years, till Dermot's solicitations and the consequent conquests of the earl of Pembroke and his followers rendered it of use to him. This Bull was couched in the following terms :

“ Adrian, the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the noble king of England, sendeth greeting, and apostolic benediction.—Your magnificence

hath been very careful and studious how you might enlarge the church of God here on earth, and increase the number of his saints and elect in Heaven; in that, as a good catholic king, you have and do, by all means, labour and travail to enlarge and increase God's church, by teaching the ignorant people the true and Christian religion, and in abolishing and rooting up the weeds of sin and wickedness. And wherein you have and do crave for your better furtherance, the help of the apostolic see (wherein more speedily and directly you proceed) the better success, we hope God will send; for all they who of a fervent zeal and love in religion, do begin and enterprize any such thing, shall, no doubt, in the end, have a good and prosperous success. And as for Ireland, and all other islands where Christ is known, and the Christian religion received, it is out of all doubt, and your excellency well knoweth, they do all appertain and belong to the right of St. Peter, and of the church of Rome; and we are so much the more ready, desirous, and willing to sow the acceptable seed of God's word, because we know the same in the latter day will be the most severely required at our hands. You have (our well beloved son in Christ) advertised and signified unto us, That you will enter into the land and realm of Ireland; to the end to bring them to obedience unto law, and under your subjection, and to root out from among them their sins and wickedness; as also to yield and pay yearly out of every house, a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter; and besides also will defend and keep the rites of those churches, whole and inviolate.—We therefore well allowing and favouring this your godly disposition, and commendable affection; do accept, ratify, and assent unto this your petition; and do grant,
That

That you (for the dilating of God's church, the punishment of sin, the reforming of manners, planting of virtue, and increasing of Christian religion) do enter to possess that land, and there execute according to your wisdom whatsoever shall be for the honour of God, and the safety of the realm.—And farther, also, we do strictly charge and require, That all the people of that land do with all humbleness, dutifulness, and honour, receive and accept you as their liege lord and sovereign, reserving, and excepting the right of holy church to be inviolably preserved; as also the yearly pension of Peter Pence, out of every house, which we require to be truly answered to St. Peter, and to the church of Rome. If therefore you do mind to bring your godly purpose to effect, endeavour to travail, to reform the people to some better order and trade of life, and that also by your self, and by such others as you shall think meet, true, and honest in their life, manners, and conversation, to the end the church of God may be beautified, the true Christian religion sowed and planted, and all other things done, that by any means, shall or may be to God's honour, and salvation of mens souls, whereby you may in the end receive at God's hands, the reward of everlasting life, and also in the mean time, in this life, carry a glorious fame, and an honourable report among all nations."—

But there are some who question the truth of this account, especially among the Irish.—They assert that neither the purity of Henry's manners, nor the respect he shewed the holy see, were such as could be supposed to draw a grant like this from the pope; yet I am not inclined to think it a fictitious one. As to the first part of the argument, though the character of this prince has been

much blackened, yet, in spite of all his enemies could say of him, he was very far from being either a bad prince or a wicked man,—As to the second, it is well known that the bishops of Rome, with all their infallibility, could change their sentiments either of kings or private persons, as opportunity offered for their own advantage; nay, that when it suited their particular purposes, that they would even hold correspondence with excommunicated persons. And as this bull was said to be obtained before the murder of Becket had incensed the church, there is nothing very improbable in the story. According to the same authorities, this bull was afterwards confirmed by another of pope Alexander the Third, the tenor of which was as follows :

“ Alexander the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved son, the noble king of England, greeting, grace and apostolic benediction.—Forasmuch as things given and granted, upon good reason, by our predecessors, are to be well allowed of, ratified, and confirmed, we, well considering and pondering the grant and privilege for and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland, to us appertaining, and lately given by Adrian our predecessor; we following his steps, do in like manner confirm, ratify, and allow the same; reserving and saving to St. Peter, and to the church of Rome, the yearly pension of one penny out of every house, as well in England as in Ireland.—Provided also, That the barbarous people of Ireland by your means be reformed, and recovered from that filthy life and abominable conversation, that as in name, so in life and manners they may be Christians, and that as that rude and disordered church being by you reformed, the whole nation may also with the posses-

possession of the name be in act and deed followers of the same."

It is needless to observe that the authority of both the bulls above recited must stand or fall together; yet I have only taken notice of them as of other matters recorded in history, not as any proof to support the right of king Henry to the dominion of Ireland, since the pope could not give away that which never belonged to him; and it would be the most absurd thing imaginable in protestant princes, who lived many ages after him, to found their claim upon an authority which in all other respects they do not allow, and which if they did, might as well give away their own kingdom, as Ireland, and in truth with equal judgement and propriety.

But I cannot help observing here what great offence some of the Irish have taken at the expressions in these bulls, which intimate the savage and barbarous state of the people of that country, and the decline of religion among them.—Keating is one of these,—and yet who can read that part of his own history, which refers to the period in question, without owning that notwithstanding there might be some few learned and pious, and many more enthusiastic bishops and monks in Ireland, yet the bulk of the people had most deplorably departed from the practice of the Christian religion, how well soever they might affect to think of its precepts?—And indeed that very circumstance, under colour of which the pontiff gave away their dominions, was, in another sense, the cause of their losing them; for if there had been any sparks of virtue remaining in the breasts of either the princes or their people, they would never have been subdued as they were by foreign power;—they would not have been perpetually committing depredations

predations on their neighbours territories, and drawing out their armies against those whom they ought to have esteemed as their friends when the common enemy was even at their doors, and harassing the more innocent and quiet part of their countrymen in such a manner that they had cause to rejoice rather than grieve at the conquest of the English, and be happy in a submission to any power that was exercised with moderation, rather than be constantly the prey of contending parties, and the unhappy victims of cruel tyranny, or lawless faction.

But to return,—as a presumptive proof and confirmation that Henry had received and paid some regard to the bulls above-mentioned, after having been acknowledged by the Irish princes and chiefs, and having feasted them royally at Dublin, we find him removing to Cashell, where he convened a national synod, and several canons were made and ratified restraining certain disorderly customs in the church, and enacting many wholesome ordinances.

Keating.

In this synod, to which the king sent his own chaplain, the bishop of Lismore presided, and the following articles were agreed upon : “ First, it is decreed, That all good, faithful, and Christian people, throughout Ireland, should forbear and shun to marry with their near kinsfolks and cousins, and marry with such as lawfully they should do.

Secondly, That children shall be catechised without the church door, and baptised in the font appointed in the churches for the same.

Thirdly, That every Christian body do faithfully and truly pay yearly the tithes of his cattle, corn, and other his increase and profits to the church or parish where he is a parishioner.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, That all the church lands and possessions throughout all Ireland, shall be free from all secular exactions and impositions; and especially, that no lords, earls, or noblemen, nor their children, or family shall extort, or take any coigne and livery, cosheries, nor cuddies, nor any other like custom, from thenceforth, in or upon any of the church lands and territories. And likewise that they; nor no other person, do henceforth exact out of the said church lands old wicked and detestable customs of coigne and livery, which they were wont to extort upon such towns and villages of the churches as were near, and next bordering upon them.

Fifthly, That when eric, or composition, is made among the lay people, for any murder, that no person of the clergy (though he be of kin to any of the parties) shall contribute any thing thereunto; but as they be guiltless from the murder, so shall they be free from payment of money for any such eric or release from the same.

Sixthly, That all and every good Christian being sick and weak, shall before the priest and his neighbours, make his last will and testament; and his debts and servants wages being paid, all his moveables to be divided (if he hath any children) into three parts: whereof one part to be for the children, another for his widow, and the third part to be for the performance of his will. And if so be he have no children, then the goods to be divided into two parts, whereof the one moiety to be for his wife, and the other for the performance of his will and testament. And if he have no wife, but only children, then the goods to be likewise divided into two parts, whereof the one to be to himself, and the other to his children.

Seventhy, That every Christian, being dead, and dying in the Catholic faith, shall be reverently

ly brought to the church, and be buried as appertaineth.

Finally, That all the divine service in the church of Ireland shall be kept, used, and observed, in the like order and manner as it is in the church of England:—For it is meet and right, that as by God's providence and appointment, Ireland is now become subject and under the king of England, so the same should take from thence the order, rule, and manner, how to reform themselves, and to live in better order. For whatsoever good thing is befallen to the church and realm of Ireland, either concerning religion, or peaceable government, they owe the same to the king of England, and are to be thankful unto him for the same. For before his coming into the land of Ireland, many and all sorts of wickedness in times past flowed and reigned among them, all which, now by his authority and goodness are abolished."

Thus, which is very remarkable, the acts of this assembly, which was a kind of parliament as well as a synod, concluded with an acknowledgement that all the good order which was established both in church and state, was owing to the king of England, who had set himself about the good work that the pope had enjoined, and that the whole body of people owned was absolutely necessary to their well being, by confessing the enormities practised before the arrival of the English in their country.

As to the question of right (setting aside this patent of his holiness's) that is a matter which has been much disputed, and which it will take much consideration to determine. If we should rest it only upon conquest, which is but a right to every wrong, then we must set up force rather than justice, especially since there was not even a lawful

ful occasion for war, (however Henry's courtiers might gloss the matter over) between the two neighbouring nations; for as to the piracies of some of the Irish, they were rather matters of private than of public concern; and besides, these were never alledged by those English and Welch who first entered the country, as a reason for their coming, neither was there any restitution demanded or any remonstrance made upon the occasion.—And as to the cause of Dermod, it was the cause of wickedness and injustice, nor could the retort said to be made on Roderic who accused him of lewdness in his letter, by any means soften the matter, since the crimes of one man can never, in such a case, palliate those of another. Again, if the claim be established on the foundation of the marriage between the earl of Pembroke and Eva the daughter of Dermod (which I believe is most insisted upon of any) it is very judiciously observed by a foreign author, that admitting this title, it can hold good for no other part of the kingdom than Leinster, at most, and those other appendages which that prince stood possessed of, since he could not give away what he really never had.—And as to the disputed claim to the monarchy by descent, if Roderic's was not a good one, Dermod's was no better, and therefore he who held possession, and was approved by the majority of the people, ought certainly in this case to be considered as the monarch.

Yet, in the opinion of some, Henry had a much better title than any of these to plead; for he had the consent and homage of the monarch himself, and of the petty princes under him, and the suffrages of the clergy and others in a national council assembled, as mentioned above, who acknowledging themselves and all the kingdom indebted

indebted to him for the good order he had introduced, were content, on that account, to waive all claims of his countrymen, and to recognise his title as sovereign lord of Ireland.—And I think this claim must be an unexceptionable one, in a country where hereditary right was so little attended to, if we could be assured that no influence either of threats or promises were used to extort such a compliance, or that the Irish were not by Henry's power over-awed into the doing that which otherwise they might have abhorred the thoughts of.—It is certain that Henry, though he marched with an army through the country, had commenced no hostilities, and though it is impossible to assert whether the force he had with him did not operate by striking a terror into the minds of Irishmen; yet, at least, we do not hear of any particular threatenings used upon this occasion.

Having given the principal arguments made use of in this controversy, I shall leave it to the reader's judgement to determine on the validity of Henry's title;—but I must at the same time observe, that whatever objections might be raised to the government of that prince,—the Irish monarch being still alive, though reduced to the condition of a feudatory chief, and mens minds and dispositions not yet reconciled to the change in the state, which like all other revolutions, though never so wisely conducted must terminate to the injury of some individuals; though it was then not wonderful that the natives should not be easily reconciled to a foreign dominion; these objections can by no means be alledged with propriety in excuse for any revolts or insurrections among the Irish in later ages, when the cause being removed, the effect might reasonably be expected to cease, and when the natives of that island possessing the privileges

privileges and immunities of free subjects, ought to have considered themselves as one people with the English.——And, as to the debate concerning the right either of conquest or succession, by which Ireland is annexed to the crown of England, to revive it in these days is the height of madness and folly; for if the tenure by which Ireland is annexed to the crown of Great Britain after so long possession is a matter properly to be called in question, then what rights either of nations or private men, originating in those military ages can be secure, and who either amongst our nation or their own with justice can defend the estate that he is possessed of? A scrutiny of this kind must naturally confound all claims of property, and would be so far from determining the question of *right*, that it would go near to overthrow the very idea of its existence.

To conclude these observations,—I must take notice that though Henry's title might appear to many of the Irish to be very defective, his government of them (allowing for the times) was far from being so.—They had been subdued at first by arms, but they must have been kept in subjection by policy. Yet the king of England certainly owed much to the prowess of those who first effected the settlement in the country, and how much soever he might pique himself upon any claims he had in Ireland, or any laws he established there to maintain them, it is certain that he was indebted for the first possession of the country entirely to the valour and skill of the renowned earl of Pembroke.

Before I close this book, I shall speak of some of the learned and religious men, who flourished in the interval of time from the accession of Brian Boiroimhe to the conquest of the island by the English;—the reader will not wonder if it is but
a short

a short one, when he considers the troubles of the times, and the unsettled state of the kingdom, which must necessarily be very prejudicial to the progress of knowledge and science amongst the unhappily divided natives.

Marianus Scotus, a chronologer of the first rank, was born in the beginning of the eleventh century, and wrote an universal chronicle of his time. He retired from the world about the middle of it, to Germany; where he shut himself up in a convent at Cologne, afterwards at Fulda, and at last died at Mentz. He wrote, besides the chronicles above-mentioned, the Harmony of the Evangelists, Amendments to Dionysius, of the great Pascal Cycle, Annotations on the Scriptures, Commentaries on the Psalms, a Notitia of both Empires, and some other tracts.

Near the same period lived Tigernach, who wrote the Annals of Ulster, in the eleventh century; and Melisa of Munster, the author of some philosophical works that have transmitted his name to posterity.

In the twelfth century, before the conquest, lived Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, and the pope's legate in the synod mentioned in the reign of Mortogh O'Brian, who wrote some epistles, and a book of the state of the church.—But the most famous person of that age, was Malachy O'Morgar, archbishop of Ardmagh, who wrote many epistles to Bernard, a Book of general Constitutions, of the laws of Celibacy, of Traditions, the Life of Cuthbert, an Epistle to David, king of the Scots, and a Prophecy of the Popes of Rome. He built a stone oratory at Bangor in Ireland, like what he had seen in other countries, which is said to be the first of the sort erected in that kingdom.

There

There are indeed besides these, others mentioned by some of the Irish writers; but these are the persons of the principal note among them all, a list of whom may seem to shew the state of learning in Ireland, about the time we are speaking of, which introduced the English and their manners among them, and altered in many instances the religious as well as the civil state of that kingdom.

Having thus seen king Henry's power acknowledged, and the English settled in the island, I shall now leave the reader to make his own reflexions on this extraordinary and unexpected event, and put a period to the second book of this history.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

Vol. I.

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THE

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H I S T O R Y
O F
I R E L A N D.

BOOK THE THIRD.

ALL things being thus settled in Ireland, king Henry, after spending the winter, which was very tempestuous, at Dublin, withdrew from thence in the spring, having received advice that the pope had dispatched two cardinals to Normandy, in order there to see and examine him concerning the death of Thomas Becket, late archbishop of Canterbury, who had been murdered in his own cathedral church, on account of his haughtiness towards his master, though, as it seems, not by his immediate orders.—That prince, before his departure left Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, in possession of the province of Leinster, which he held as a fief of the English crown;

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at the same time that he appointed Hugh de Lacey justiciary of Ireland, leaving him the government of Dublin.—He also bestowed upon the latter the government of Meath, (which had before been granted in part to O'Rourk, by Roderic O'Connor,) a step which much displeased the king of Bressny, and almost all the Irish nation. He left Humphry de Bohun in charge of Waterford, and committed Wexford to the care of Fitzaldelm, ordering castles to be built in these towns, and taking into his own service Raymond, Miles Cogan, and many of the earl's best officers, being jealous of the great power of that nobleman in a newly conquered country.

Thus all things remained at king Henry's departure, but thus they did not remain long; for O'Rourk soon after began to shew his resentment of the part that monarch had acted in disposing of Meath to Hugh Lacey. However, it was proposed by some who wished to preserve the peace of the kingdom, that these two rivals should meet and compromise their differences. For this purpose they met on a hill near Dublin, attended by an equal number of followers, the English being armed only with their swords, and the Irish only with their axes.—The lord lieutenant and the Irish prince then withdrew together to some distance, but the latter had laid a plan to destroy his enemy; so finding an excuse to leave him, he made a signal to a band of men that he had placed in ambush to come up and fall upon him, at the same time advancing towards him with his axe uplifted, and his countenance inflamed with wrath. Happily for the intended victim, one Gryffith, a Welch knight, who suspected some treachery had drawn off several knights towards that part of the hill where the conference was held, and there under pretence of tilting with each other, they ob-

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served

served all that passed. In the mean time Fitzgerald came up time enough to aid Lacey ;—he was retiring from the fury of the king of Breffny, who already aimed a blow at his rival's head, which cut off the arm of his interpreter.—But now finding Gryffiths's people advance as fast as his own, O'Rourk concluding that the latter would be routed, prepared to make his escape on horse-back ; but while he was mounting, the Welch knight, with one push of his lance, slew both man and horse together ; the king of Breffny's people were routed with great slaughter, and his head being cut off, was placed on the great gate of the castle of Dublin, and his body treated with great indignity by the conquerors.—A most lamentable end for an injured prince, whose aggressor had descended in peace to his grave, yet if viewed in another light (such as doubtless the English chose to behold it in) a just punishment for treachery, and the breach of the most solemn compacts, which however others had no less deserved, though by the kindness of fortune they were not fated to suffer it.

After this the earl of Pembroke made war against O'Dempsey, chief of Ophaly, for not attending his court, but after having ravaged his country, the English under the Earl's command, were defeated on their return home, their booty being wrested from them, Robert de Quiney, the chief constable slain, and the standard of Leinster taken by the enemy.

Before Strongbow could put himself into a condition to revenge this upon the Irish he was obliged to go over to king Henry in France, who soon after sent him back again loaded with honours to Ireland, conferring the lieutenancy of that kingdom on him, which Lacey resigned as soon as he received his master's order for that purpose.

The



Strongbow, Earl of PEMBROKE.

The earl at his arrival found affairs in great confusion, the Irish being ready to revolt, and the English generals Hervey and Raymond at variance. The latter upon repeated solicitations he permitted to make excursions into Ophaly, where they took a great booty, and afterwards into Munster, which they cruelly ravaged, and took and sacked Lismore. In effect, this was only a war made for plunder, and the soldiery who had been so clamorous to begin it being intercepted by the citizens of Waterford, on their return, were near paying dearly for their rapine; but Adam de Hereford, a chief of great valour, sustained them, defeated the enemy, and brought them off much better than they deserved.—At the same time Dermot, Mac Carthy, prince of Desmond, being overthrown by Raymond, the army continued their depredations in those parts without fear of farther interruption.

But the successes of the English were soon stopped by the return of Raymond into Wales, in resentment for the earl of Pembroke's refusal to give him the office of constable and standard-bearer, and his sister Basilea in marriage. After his departure, Hervey de Mountmaurice taking the command of the earl's forces in Leinster, being upon an expedition to Cork, was surprised in his camp by Donald O'Brian, prince of Limerick, and after having suffered great loss, was forced to shut himself up in Waterford, the Irish forces every day increasing, and Roderic himself being in arms for the recovery of his monarchy, they now began to return the injuries they had received, and even ravaged the country of the English to the gates of Dublin, till Strongbow alarmed at their successes, condescended to solicit Raymond's return, who arriving with one Meyler, thirty knights,

knights and a body of English forces near Waterford, the Irish not daring to encounter him, he conducted the earl from thence to Wexford.—Nevertheless a party of Ostmen afterwards came into Waterford, and murdered all the English remaining in the houses; but not being able to reduce Reginald's tower in that city, were themselves soon expelled by the garrison of the fortress.

But Raymond, in the interim, was married with the consent of Strongbow to his beautiful sister, and soon after marching towards Dublin, gave a check to the progress of Roderick, and recovered all Meath. After which he turned his arms against Donald O'Brian, and attacked the city of Limerick, which he took by storm, though his forces seemed very unequal to such an enterprize.

But as Raymond was thus proceeding in his conquests, he was recalled by Henry, who had been informed, not without justice, that that chief carried on a piratical war in the country, and was besides (though perhaps with less grounds) led to suspect him of a design of usurping the dominion of it for himself; a circumstance which much alarmed his master.

As he was preparing to depart, Donald O'Brian besieged Limerick, hoping to retake it; but when Strongbow attempted to march to its relief, the soldiers refused serving under any other but Raymond; to whom the earl was obliged, on that account, to give the command of the forces.—That general thereupon set forward upon the expedition, associating with him the chiefs of Ossory and Kinsale, who were Donald's enemies.—Donald had by this time raised the siege, but lay encamped in a streight to oppose them; at which, as soon as the English arrived, the chief of Ossory, their ally, is said to have thus addressed them:

“ O ye,

“ O ye, whose arms have subdued this land, be-
 “ have yourselves well this day!—If you conquer,
 “ our axes shall join your swords in wounding the
 “ backs of the discomfited and flying foes ; but if
 “ ye should be vanquished, these weapons, which
 “ always strike on the side of the conquerors, will
 “ certainly be employed against you.”

Thus stimulated, the English made so furious an attack upon the Irish, that they put them entirely to the rout ; and soon after not only Donald O'Brian, but Roderic himself held conferences with Raymond concerning a treaty of peace, desiring to be admitted to renew their oaths of fealty and allegiance.

Dermod Mac Carthy then solicited and presently obtained Raymond's aid against his son, who was intent upon driving him out of his territories, to the full possession of which they restored him ;—the rebellious young prince indeed soon after revolted, but being put to death by his father, the latter was once more in quiet possession of his right ; and these successes made it impolitic to insist on Raymond's return to England.

When Henry's affairs abroad gave him leave, he began to attend seriously to the conclusion of a definitive treaty with Roderic O'Connor, whose chancellor waited on him at Windsor, where a great council being held for the purpose, a peace was ratified, the following articles being agreed upon between the two princes :

A. D.
1175.

“ Henry granted to his liegeman Roderic that he should be a *king under him*, ready to serve him as *his vassal*, and that he should hold his own territories as well and as peaceably, as he had held them before the coming of Henry into Ireland. He was likewise to have under his rule and dominion all the rest of the island, and the inhabitants thereof, (but with some exceptions, which are afterwards

specified in the treaty.) and to exercise jurisdiction over them all (kings and princes included) so as to oblige them to pay their tribute to the king of England through his hands, and to preserve to that monarch his other rights. They were likewise to hold in peace whatsoever they possessed at that time, so long as they remained faithful to the king of England, and paid him their tribute and what else he claimed by right, through the king of Connaught's hands; saving in all things the prerogative and the honour of both those kings. And in case that any of them should rebel against either, and refuse to pay their tribute or other duties in the manner before prescribed, or should depart from their fealty to the king of England, the king of Connaught was to judge them and remove them from their governments, or from their possessions. It was likewise agreed and declared, that if Roderic's own strength should not be sufficient to do these things, the king of England's constable, and his other servants and soldiers, should assist him therein upon his requisition, so far as they should find needful. The tribute demanded of him out of all his own territories, and others in the island, was a hide saleable for the merchant, from every tenth beast of all the cattle killed there; except that in those districts which the king of England retained as his demesnes, or in those of his barons, he was not to intermeddle; namely, in Dublin, and all its appurtenances; in Meath, and all its appurtenances, (comprehending therein whatsoever had been held by O'Rourk, or by any who had held that province after him) and in Wexford, and all the territory thereof; and in all the rest of Leinster and in Waterford, with the country between that city and Dungarvan, this latter place, with all its appurtenances, included. And if any of the Irish who had fled from the territories of the king's barons, should

should design to return thither, they might do it in peace, paying the tribute above mentioned, as other did; or doing the ancient services, which they used to do for their lands, as their lords should like best. But if any of the Irish, who were subjects to the king of Connaught, should refuse to return to him, he might compel them to do it; after which they were quietly to remain in his land. Moreover the said king was empowered to take hostages from all those whom the king of England had committed to him, at his own and the king of England's choice; and he was to give the said hostages to the king of England, or others, at the king's choice. And all those from whom those securities were demanded were to perform certain annual services to the king of England, by presents of Irish dogs and hawks; and they were not to detain any person whatsoever, belonging to any land or territory of that prince, against his will and commandment.*"

It

* Quod rex Angliæ concedit prædicto Roderico, ligo homini suo, regnum Conaciæ, quamdiu ei fideliter servit, ut sit rex sub eo, paratur ad servitium suum, sicut homo suus & ut teneat terram suam ita bene, & in pace sicut tenuit, antequam dominus rex Angliæ intravit Hiberniam, reddendo ei tributum: & totam illam terram & habitatores terræ habeat sub se; justitiæ ut tributum regi Angliæ integre persolvant; & manum ejus sua jura sibi conservent, & illi qui modo tenent, teneant in pace quamdiu mansuerint in fidelitate regis Angliæ & fideliter integre persolverint tributum, alia jura sua quæ ei debent, per manum regis Conaciæ salvo in omnibus jure & honore domini regio Angliæ et suo.

Et si qui ex eis regi Angliæ & ei rebelles fuerint tributum alia jura regi Angliæ per manum ejus solvere noluerint & a fidelitate regis Angliæ recesserint, ipse eos justitiæ & amoveat; & si eos per se justitiare non poterit, constabularius regis Angliæ & familia sua de terra illa juvabunt, gum ad hoc faciendum, cum ab ipso

fuerint requisiti ipsi viderint quod *Hannar*. necesse fuerit & propter hunc finem reddet prædictus rex Conaciæ domino regi Angliæ tributum singulis annis, scilicet de singulis decem animalibus, unum corium placabile mercatoribus, tam de totâ terrâ suâ quam de alienâ.

Excepto quod de terris illis quas dominus rex Angliæ retinuit in dominio suo, in dominio baronum suorum nihilne intromittet; scilicet Durelina cum pertinentiis suis & Media, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, sicut upquam Murchait, Wamai, Loth Lachlin cum de eo tenuerint. Et excepta Wexfordia, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; scilicet cum tota Lagenia; excepta Waterfordia, cum tota terra illa quæ est a Waterfordia usq; ad Dungarvan; ita ut Dungarvan sit, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis infra terram illam.

Et si Hibernones illi qui ausuerint redire voluerint ad terram baronum regis Angliæ, redeant in pace reddendo tributum prædictum quod alii reddant, vel faciendo antiquæ servitiæ, quæ facere solebant pro terris suis & hoc sit in arbitrio dominorum

It should seem, that Henry grounded his reasons for giving so much power into the hands of Roderic, on the likelihood there was of recommending himself by it to the people of Ireland, and on the difficulty he found, considering the multitude of other cares upon his hands, in paying a proper attention to his interests in that country; in the first instance, however, he did not act up to the rules of good policy; for it could not be well supposed that all the favours thus conferred upon Roderic could be considered in any other light than that of concessions, or that they could make that high spirited Irish prince forget his monarchy and independence; which even if he had done, the people would not so soon have forgot the loss of their freedom, though perhaps in the eyes of any other but an Irishman, such freedom as theirs was not worth the keeping; on the contrary, they would have been led to despise Roderic for his tameness, and consequently, whatever title he might have assumed, he would have lost all power in the island. “Tho’ (says a modern writer) two of the five Irish kingdoms, reckoning Munster according to the antient division, and three principal cities, were by this treaty exempted from Roderic’s jurisdiction; yet the other princes and chieftains of the Irish had reason to think the protection which they were intitled to demand from Henry as his vassals and liegemen, against any oppression on the part of the king of Connaught a very sufficient compensation both to them and their people, for so easy a tribute

as

eorum suorum si aliqui eorum redire noluerint. Domini eorum rex Conacie accipiat obsides, omnibus quos ei commisit dominus rex Angliæ, ad voluntatem domini regio suam ipse dabit obsides ad voluntatem domini regis Angliæ illos vel alios ipsi servient domino de canibus et avibus suis singulis annis de perti-

mentis suis nullum omnino de quacunquæ terra regis sit retinebunt contra voluntatem domini regis. His testibus Richardo episcopo Wintoniæ. Gaufrido episcopo Eliensis, Laurentio Durellensi archiepiscopo, Nicholao Rogero Cupelanis regis, Gulielmo comite Essexii, aliis multis,

as they were bound to pay, or any other sacrifices required on their part: Yet (adds he) the grant of some portions of their country to foreigners were so grievous to the Irish; their natural pride was so much hurt by the loss of the antient independance of Ireland, and the bonds of their allegiance to the king of England were now so loosely tied, that this was rather a temporary accommodation between him and them, than a durable settlement in the island"—And this seems indeed to be a pretty clear state of the case, as the succeeding events in the sequel of this history will evince.

But to return.—While things were thus situated, Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, as above-mentioned, died at Dublin, of which event his sister, the wife of Raymond, sent her husband immediate intelligence, in a letter which is said to be couched in the following terms:

A. D.
1176.

My dear Lord,

"Know that my great cheek tooth, which used to ake so much, is now fallen out; wherefore if you have any regard for me or for yourself, come away with all speed."——

As soon as Raymond received this letter he marched to Limerick, where consulting his officers on the occasion, it was concluded that he should secure Leinster and the sea-port towns; for which purpose it was necessary for him to abandon Limerick, which he did with great reluctance, giving up the city to Donald O'Brian, and taking from him fresh oaths of fealty, and hostages for the security of his loyalty. However, he was no sooner departed than the bridge was broken down, and the town set on fire in several places; and all this even in sight of the English, who had but just begun their march in order to quit that part of the country.—

After

After the earl of Pembroke's funeral, which was performed on Raymond's arrival in Dublin, the latter assumed the government of the country till Fitz-Aldelm was sent by Henry into Ireland, as his deputy, with the knights of his household. With him came John de Courcy and Miles Cogan, each of them having a band of ten knights under his command, whom Raymond hastened to meet, and surrendered his government and hostages to the new viceroy, according to the command of the king.

Fitz-Aldelm was descended, as we are told, from a branch of the royal family.—Arlotta, the mother of *William the Conqueror*, (whom the English of these days affect to call *William the Bastard*) was married to Harlowen de Bourg, by whom she had Robert earl of Cornwall, and Odo bishop of Bezeux, half brother to the Conqueror. The son of Robert was William earl of Cornwall, who had issue Aldelm and John; from the former of whom this William de Fitz-Aldelm, of whom we are speaking, was descended, and John had issue, Hubert de Bourg who was chief Justice of England and earl of Kent. And Fitz-Aldelm himself was the founder of the family of the Bourgs or Burks, which is one of the greatest families in Ireland.

All power being thus given up into the hands of the new deputy, he went to Dublin, which was now once more well peopled, though it had suffered much in the wars between the English and Irish. Henry, amongst many other acts of wisdom and moderation, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-two, granted a charter to the citizens of Bristol, wherein he gave them leave to inhabit and hold Dublin in the same manner as Bristol itself* (as in the

* This charter was in Latin, and was couched in the following terms : Henricus, rex Angliæ dux Norm.
Acq. comes Andeg., archiepiscopus,
episcopus,

the note annexed, whereby he invited them to come and replace the numbers of Ostmén who had been slain or expelled, and to live in amity with the rest, and renew the trade and consequence of that city.—Another charter † was also granted to the inhabitants of Dublin indiscriminately, whereby they were confirmed in a liberty of free trade with all parts of their own country, as also with England, Wales, and Normandy, a prudent measure, which in all probability tended to restore the capital to the condition in which the deputy found it.

But all Henry's policy, and that of his chiefs and governors, the examples they made, on one hand, the treaties they concluded, on the other, were equally ineffectual to secure a permanent peace in Ireland.—The natives, under the command of the chief of Tyrone, had taken three castles belonging to Hugh de Lacey, and all Ulster

episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, iusticiariis, vice-comitibus, præpositis, ministris, & omnibus fidelibus suis Francis & Anglicis & Hibernensibus, totius terre sue, salutem. Sciatis me dedisse & concessisse & presenti. Charta confirmasse hominibus meis de Bristow, civitatem meam de Divelin ad inhabitandum; quare volo & firmiter precipio, ut ipsi eam inhabitent & teneant illam de me and de hereditibus meis bene & in pace, libere & quiete, integre & plenarie & honorifice, cum omnibus libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus quas homines de Bristow habent apud Bristow & per totam terram meam.----Testibus Will. de Braosa. Reigan de Curtenai. Hug. de Gandevilla, Will. Filio Adelmi, Ranulpho de Camvilla. Hug. de Creisi. Regin. de Pavilla.----Apud Divilin.

† The second charter was as follows, "Henricus rex Angliæ, dux Nor-

manniæ & Aquitanie & comes Andegaviæ. episcopis baronibus, iusticiariis, vice-comitibus, omnibus hominibus terræ suæ.----Salutem, sciatis me concessisse burgensibus meis de Dublin quod sint quieti de Tholonio & passagio & pontagio, & omni consuetudine per totam terram meam Angliæ, Normanniæ, Walliæ, Hiberniæ, ubicunque venerint ipsi et res eorum. Quare volo, & firmiter precipio, quod habeant omnes libertates quietancias & liberes quietancias & liberas consuetudines suas pleni & honorifice sicut mei liberi & fideles homines. Et sint quieti de Tholoneo; & et prohibeo ne quis eos super his deturba contra hanc chartam meam, super decem librarum forisfacturam, Testibus Ricardo de Hum. Constabulario, Reginaldo de Courtenayo, Ricardo de Camvilla, Wilhelmo de Lannelleyo.----Apud Sanctum Laudinam."

ster refused any tribute or acknowledgement to the king of England.—Though Fitz Aldelm paid little attention to these matters ; yet others, who perhaps were rather swayed by the desire of plunder than of honour, resolved to make incursions into the province, and notwithstanding the deputy's express prohibition, put their design in execution, to the number of twenty-two knights, and three hundred soldiers, who, under the command of John de Courcy, advanced to Down-Patrick, then the residence of the king of Ulster, which not being defended by walls and fortifications, he fled at their approach. The pope's legate after his retreat, attempted to mediate between him and the English, offering that the prince on his part, should pay the tribute demanded, if they would retire and quit the province. But, finding the negotiation ineffectual (as how should it prove otherwise with men who fought for the sake of pillage, rather than for the cause of their king) he sought out the Irish prince, and exhorted him to raise an army, which he did to the amount of near ten thousand men, who after a most stout resistance were obliged to give way, and were routed by Courcy's forces, though they so far out-numbered them.—The cause of which, as indeed of most of their defeats was nearly the same with those of the victories gained by the Spaniards over the natives of America; namely, the inequality of arms and discipline between the two armies ; for whilst the English were secure in their coats of mail, and furnished with effective weapons, (amongst which may be reckoned their bows and arrows, that did vast execution) the Irish were all infantry, furnished only with cumbrous battle-axes, and short darts, and being exposed for want of corselets to the swords and missiles of the enemy, fell by a terrible carnage, and

and after having in vain done all that valour and a love of their liberty could suggest, had the mortification to find themselves defeated by a handful of men, and fled, after leaving the bravest of their soldiers dead upon the field.—A great slaughter was made of them, after this general rout, and amongst the prisoners taken in the pursuit was the bishop of Down, who was however set free at the intercession of the legate, tho' he had himself been obliged at first to take sanctuary in a church, but was delivered from his fears by Courcy, who took him into favour and protection, and he afterwards went and held a synod at Dublin, in which he shewed himself a fast friend to the English, for he declared the pope's confirmation of the king of England's title, which he strictly enjoined both the clergy and laity to submit to, under pain of excommunication. Nor was this all; for he likewise gave his sanction and authority to the English to take provisions out of the churches, whither the Irish had removed great quantities of them, on paying for them to the rectors; and thus he fully recompensed Courcy and his people for the only acts of moderation which they had shewn in this expedition. Nor were the English more fortunate in another expedition, of which some historians have given us the following account:

Courcy had built many castles in Ulster, especially in that part of it called Ferny, where one Mac Mahon dwelt; he was very observant of Courcy, and made him his gossip, had sworn fidelity to him, and had so far besides insinuated himself into his favour, that the Briton gave him two castles, with the lands belonging to them; but, within a month Mac Mahon demolished both the castles: and being asked the reason why he did so, he answered, —That he did not promise to hold *stones*, but
land,

land, and that it was contrary to his nature to live within cold walls, whilst the woods were so nigh. Courcy, incensed at this slight answer, and to revenge the affront, entered the Ferny, and took so large a quantity of cows, that he was obliged to divide them into three droves for convenience of driving; the ways were boggy, and also so narrow, that the cattle filled the road for three miles together. The Irish observing these circumstances set upon the English with such briskness, noise and clamour, as forced the cows back, and made them run upon their drivers, so that they overthrew both horse and man, and trod more underfoot than were slain by the sword. Thus the English were routed, and although they had slain many of the Irish, and their general Mac Mahon himself, yet at last they were forced to fly, and with much difficulty recovered an old fort of Courcy's; where they made a shift to secure themselves. About midnight, one Sir Amorick went to view the posture of the Irish, who not in the least mistrusting that a baffled handful of men would dare to attempt them, were in loose and negligent condition, most of them asleep. This being reported to Courcy, they easily agreed to make use of the advantage; and immediately with all their force fell upon the Irish and surprised them, so that they were all slain except two hundred, who made their escape, and of the English there were but two killed in this encounter, though they lost four hundred the preceding day.

This is the account which some writers give of this affair; but others mention only the defeat of the English, without taking notice of the advantage gained over the Irish afterwards.— Whether that last circumstance were true or not, it is certain that the English were much dispirited

pirited at the check they sustained, and the more so as they could not carry off their booty, the loss of which to the soldiers, it may be presumed, who had chiefly engaged for the sake of it, was consequently a most terrible grievance.

Yet, notwithstanding the ill success of some skirmishes, a much greater matter was taken in hand, for though there had been, as I have observed; a treaty concluded between Henry and the king of Connaught, the subjects of the former in Ireland thought proper to take part with the son of the latter, who most unnaturally raised a rebellion against his father. The name of this prince was Mortogh, who most earnestly solicited the deputy to make war upon Roderic. Fitz-Al-delm at length complying with his request, sent forty knights, and a body of cavalry, amounting to two hundred, with three hundred archers, under the command of Miles Cogan, to invade Connaught; but the Irish had taken such effectual care to deprive them of all provisions, by either concealing or burning them, that the latter were glad to return. On their march Roderic appeared ready with an army to intercept them, through which however, we are told they forced their way, with the loss only of three Englishmen; but the rebellious Mortogh, who had not been joined by one of the inhabitants of Connaught, was taken prisoner in the skirmish, and all the power of the English was not sufficient to hinder his treason from being punished by the loss of his eyes, which were put out at the command of Roderic. And thus ended an expedition in which the English had evidently the disadvantage, and which served only to irritate the natives, instead of awing them into submission.

Henry, though he received information of the unsettled state of things in Ireland, yet could not (circumstanced as he was) hit upon a method of

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setting

setting them right.—However, after forming many schemes, he at last resolved upon making a grant of that kingdom to his youngest son John, which he accordingly ratified in parliament.

In the mean time, Fitz-Aldelm, while he was invested with the office of lord deputy in Ireland, had taken every opportunity to shew his dislike to the Geraldines.—He obliged the sons of Maurice Fitz-Gerald to exchange their own castle for that of Ferney, and presently afterwards caused the latter to be demolished.—From Raymond, whose restless disposition was extremely disagreeable to his pacific administration, and whose ambition gave him great jealousy, he took all his land near Dublin and Wexford.—He delayed the restitution of certain lands to Fitz-Stephen till he had obliged him to accept of worse in exchange for them, and in many other instances shewed a sort of partiality against the first adventurers, which they could not easily forgive. But, at length he was recalled and Hugh de Lacy (to whom Robert de Poer, the king's marshal and governor of Waterford was joined in the administration of affairs) was again made the king's deputy in Ireland.

Limerick (forfeited by O'Brian's revolt) was given by the king to the uncles and nephew of Richard earl of Cornwall; but as they could not get possession of it, this grant was surrendered, and the territory afterwards bestowed upon Philip de Broase; but the latter marching with Cogan and Fitz-Stephen towards that quarter, perceiving that citizens set fire to the town immediately on his approach, could by no means be prevailed on to make a settlement there, but returned to Cork, without having effected any thing. And in the parliament held at Oxford, the kingdom of Cork and South Munster were granted to Robert Fitz-Stephen,

Stephen, and Miles Cogan and their heirs after them to be held of the king, his son John and their heirs, by service of sixty knights, together with the custody of the crown of Cork, which latter grant was only confirmed during pleasure, but that was fully sufficient to establish them in the possession of it*.

Hugh de Lacey, after his return, took many wise steps to establish himself in his viceroyalty, recommended himself to the army by his liberality; and making an alliance with the Geraldines, by giving his niece in marriage to one of them named Meyler Fitz-Henry, which greatly established his interests among the descendants of the English and Welch settled in the country.

R 2

Miles

The following is a copy of the charter granted for that purpose :

“ Henricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Aquitanæ & comitis Adegraviz, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, & omnibus ministris & fidelibus suis. Francis, & Angliæ, & Hiberniensibus, salutem. Scitis me concessisse & presenti chartâ meâ confirmasse Roberto filio Stephani & Miloni de Cogan, custodiam civitatis meæ de Cork, cum cantredo quod erat Hostmanorum ejusdem civitatis, quod retineo in manu mea ac habenda & tenenda ea simul, quamvis mihi placuerit, & bene mihi servient, præterea dono iis & concessio, & presenti charta confirmo, totum regnum de Cork, exceptis dictâ civitate & cantredo prænominato, quæ in manu mea retineo, ipsi and heredibus suis, tenenda de me & Johanne filio meo & hæredibus nostris, per rectas devisas, versus Cap. & Cerdani, super maritima, & Limericum & alias partes. & usque aquam proximam de Lismore quæ fuit inter Lismore & Corke, & descendit in mari, per servitium, 60 militum, inde mihi et Johanni filio meo & heredibus nostris faciendum ; a præfato Roberto, & hæredibus suis, servitium, 30 mili-

tum faciendum ; & præfato Milone & hæredibus suis, 30---Quare volo & Milo custodiam supradictæ civitatis, & cantredi prædicti habente & tenente sicut supradictum & quod idem & hæredes eorum post ipsos, totum regnum prædictum, exceptis supradictâ civitate & præfato cantredo, quæ in manu mea retineo ; habeant & teneant, de me & Johanne filio meo & heredibus nostris ; per rectas devisas, sicut supra determinatum est bene & and in pace, liberè & quite, integre, plenarie, & honorifice, in bosco & plano, in pratio & pascuis, in aquis & molendinis, in revariis & stagnis & piscariis, in viis & semitis, & in omnibus aliis locis & aliis rebus ad illud pertinentibus, cum omnibus libertatibus & libertis consuetudinibus suis : ita quod si prædicto sumine, quod it inter Lismore & Cork, remaneat in manu mea tota terra usque ad Waterford. Testibus Johanne Norwicensi, Adams de Sancto Asolpho & Augustino. Waterford, episcopis ; Richardo de Lacy, Willemo filio Remfye, Mauritio de Prendergraft. Roberto Dene. Roberto filio Elioderi, Galfrido Poer, Hervæo de Monte Maurifio.---Apud Oxonium.

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Miles Cogan, (between whom and Fitz-Stephen, the province of Cork and South Munster had been parted) after having administered his government peaceably for almost five years, was taken off by the contrivance of the natives, to whom he had rendered himself odious.—For as he was waiting for some Englishmen whom he had appointed to meet him on a plain near Lismore, he was suddenly set upon by a band of Irish armed with axes, who slew him, together with a son of Fitz-Stephen; and immediately afterwards, raising a great force, besieged that lord himself in the city of Cork, which was however relieved by Raymond, an achievement that probably he would not easily have accomplished, if the Irish had been possessed of a fleet with which they could have blocked up the harbour. After the death of Miles Cogan, fresh succours were transported from Wales into Ireland, and Richard, brother to the deceased, was sent over and joined with Fitz-Stephen in the government of the province.

Henry having knighted his younger son John, in council, and determined to send him over to Ireland, now again recalled Hugh de Lacey and ordered Philip of Worcester to embark for Ireland to govern that kingdom, as his own and his son's lieutenant.—There was something extraordinary in the conduct of this king in respect to his children; he had already suffered much by his partiality to two of them, on account of their ambition and fickleness, and yet he was now about to expose himself to farther inconvenience by another's weakness and puerile behaviour. The establishment of John in the dominion of Ireland seem to have been somewhat similar to the crowning of his eldest son in England, and both were steps which were contrary to true and sound policy. In the first case, when a prince has once invested his successor with the ensigns of loyalty or any portion of regal authority (as

(as mankind are generally eager to catch at power) it makes him naturally impatient to obtain the whole of the dominion to himself; and, in the second case, it was highly improper for any monarch to intrust the care of a newly conquered country to a child, who must, either govern it by himself, or his ministry; if by himself, how absurd must it be in a boy of twelve years old (for John was no more) to undertake such a task;—if by his counsellors, how great a danger is the state exposed to from their cabals;—and besides, if any one amongst them were both worthy and fit to discharge this high office, would it not have been infinitely more to the purpose, to have appointed such an one to the vice-royalty, at least till the prince arrived at maturity and was better versed in the arts of government which were necessary for holding the dominion over such a high spirited people?

Donald O'Lachly, a prince of Tyrone, had formerly been defeated by Courcy, in the county of Antrim, and Philip of Worcester thought it necessary, soon after his arrival, to march into the province of Munster with his forces, where he met with no resistance; and, after having extorted (by some pretence or other) a tribute of gold from the clergy, paraded to Down Patrick, where we are told he settled the king's affairs (probably not without some regard to his own) and then returned, well enough satisfied, to Dublin, where he waited the arrival of earl John and his followers, who arrived at Waterford on the first day of April in the same year.

John had embarked at Milford Haven the preceding March a large body of horse and foot on board a fleet of sixty sail, the arrival of which force was generally deemed sufficient, in conjunction with the English troops already settled in Ireland to bring all the country under quiet subjection to his government; but the ill conduct of

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this prince, and the insolence of his behaviour to the natives, overthrew all those hopes, of that kind which the English had first conceived, and occasioned a general defection among the Irish.

He was received at his landing by the archbishop of Dublin and many English lords, who swore fealty and obedience to him.—And afterwards many of the Irish princes and nobles likewise came to render him homage. But when these, as a token of their friendship advanced according to the custom of their country to congratulate him, this weak young prince treated them with derision, and his courtiers insulted their persons for the expression of their good will, pulling them by their beards and offering them all manner of injurious and contemptuous treatment. To great spirits contempt is esteemed worse than hatred, and generally speaking, none can bear scorn so well as the most worthless of men, who have lost all sense of shame and virtue together, and notwithstanding the many fine lessons some inculcate that people should be *above* the contempt of scorers, it is seldom seen that they are so till they are also below the notice of the wise and good.—Perhaps this may be a weakness, but let it be remembered that there are weaknesses, in our nature which are so interwoven with virtues that it is almost impossible to separate them, or to root out the one without at the same time destroying the other.

Whatever earl John and his Norman courtiers might think of this affair, the Irish took their treatment so much to heart that they withdrew with all their followers, and complained to Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, to Dermot MacCarthy, Prince of Desmond, and to Donald O'Brian, prince of Limerick, in whose territories they took shelter—All these princes took fire immediately at the insult offered to their countrymen, and though they were before on the point of setting
out

out to pay their compliments to John, they now concluding no good was to be expected from one who had behaved so childishly; entered into a confederacy against him, resolving to renounce all thoughts of allegiance and binding themselves by mutual contracts to act for the future as his mortal enemy.

In consequence of this league, hostilities were begun on both sides; and the English were almost every where the losers.—In various engagements John lost most of his troops, not more by the sword than by desertion, and, in fact, found himself unable to cope with those whom his predecessors in the government had chased from their capitals with a much smaller force; but there is great difference in the conduct of men, and John as we mentioned above was but a child, and being surrounded by weak and evil counsellors he was perpetually employed in some unpopular act, and always disobliging somebody or other that he ought to have encouraged.

The favourites of this prince were Normans, and to them we are informed he gave the possessions of the English and Welch who were settled before them in the county, as also many lands belonging to the faithful Irish, who consequently became, as friends provoked generally are, the most dangerous of enemies; the love for their country that before had been smothered in their breasts by the kindness with which the English had treated them, now broke forth with an ardour which joined to the fierceness of their natural disposition threatened the worst of consequences: and what added to the weight of this evil was that these disobliged persons being almost equally acquainted with the policy of both nations, had more abilities as well as more inclination to do their conquerors mischief.—

While these were every where preparing opposition,

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John

John committed the receipt of the tributes to those who expended them in dissipation instead of supplying him with them for public service;—whilst those who had the cares of government and military affairs were no better chosen but gave up their time to women and wine instead of being vigilant every where to repel the attacks of the natives:—These taking advantage of their negligence and supineness, were perpetually employed in making depredations upon their districts, and gaining honour and advantage by their remissness; while the first settlers being even slighted by the English government withdrew their advice and assistance which was of the worst consequence to the interests of the young prince who at last found himself utterly unable to manage the affairs of that divided country.

Roderic O'Connor had, some time before this period, been deposed by his son Manmoy, whom the example that had been made by Mortogh did not discourage from a rebellion against his father and his king, who in consequence of his success had retired to a monastery; but about this time came from thence and concluding a league with Donald O'Brian was restored by his assistance and that of the English of Munster; but the Irish add that this Donald O'Brian in a succeeding war, defeated the English and slew a particular favourite of John's that used to be called his Foster-Father,

It will not be any way surprizing to the judicious reader, that mutual complaints should mark this æra, when mutual jealousies subsisted—Accordingly we find the chiefs exclaiming against each other instead of minding their separate charges and taking care of the common interest of the English in Ireland—John in particular wrote to court complaining that Hugh de Lacey who could not bear to be superseded in his government

government by any man, sought to strip him of his regal rights;—and by this letter laid open one of the principal causes of the animosities then subsisting in the country, which was no other than a distrust on his part, that had drawn on him the dislike of this lord and others, who naturally, in return, expressed a want of confidence on their side, and thus between them the new planted government was likely to be ruined, whilst Henry could neither appear in person to put an end to these coolnesses, nor with all the wisdom he was possessed of, regulate the state at so great a distance as he then was, and employed in affairs of so different a nature as those which then took up his attention.

For that prince, ever unhappy in his children, who were always quarrelling either with him or with each other, had now prepared to chastise Richard, one of his sons, who in his absence had invaded the territories of his brother Geoffrey in Bretagne. — However, Henry having assembled his forces, and sent this rebellious prince an absolute command to desist from further hostilities, Richard either by the advice of his counsellors, or for fear of his father's forces, or on both accounts, submitted to his orders, and returned in peace and quietness.

Another thing which took up much of the King of England's time was his negotiation with Louis of France, and others, concerning setting a treaty on foot for an expedition to the Holy Land, which was one of the conditions of penance * settled by the pope,

* The articles which were imposed upon him were these :

1. That in the course of the next twelvemonth from the approaching feast of Pentecost, the king should give so much money as the knights templars should deem sufficient to maintain two hundred knights for the defence of the Holy Land during the term of one year. But that

from the next Christmas-day, he should take the following sum ner to go in person to the Holy Land, unless the obligation were dispensed with by pope Alexander himself, or his catholic successors. Nevertheless, if, from the pressing necessity of the Christians in Spain, he should go thither to make war against the Saracens, he might in that case de-

pope, when he took cognizance of Becket's murder; and the crusades, as they were called, were so much the fashion of those times, that to a prince of Henry's spirit, this article could scarcely have been deemed any penance at all, if he had not had at the same time so many other affairs upon his hands, of which, doubtless, the settlement of Ireland was far from being the least in his consideration.—Both the kings promised the patriarch, of Jerusalem, who was present at this conference, supplies of men and money; nevertheless, he went away much dissatisfied, as he had expected to carry with him one of Henry's sons to head the Christians in Palestine, and check the arms of Saladin, a request, the affairs of all the princes at this juncture rendered absolutely unfit to be granted, because the execution of that project must have been attended with such difficulties, as would have rendered it next to impossible, as well as most absurdly impolitic to attempt bringing to an issue.

The affairs of the clergy in England likewise formed an object which merited Henry's attention, who had had many cares upon his hands on that account from the days of Becket to the present time.—Amongst many regulations relative to these, we find that he recommended a Carthusian monk

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for his journey to Jerusalem, for so much time as he should spend in such an expedition.

2. That he should neither hinder himself, nor suffer others to hinder, appeals from being made freely, with good faith, and without fraud or evil intentions in ecclesiastical causes to the Roman pontiff; so that they might be tried and determined according to his judgment. Yet with a proviso, that if any appellants were suspected by the king, they should give him security that they would not attempt any thing to the prejudice of him or his kingdom.

3. That he should absolutely give up those constitutions or customs, which had been introduced in his time against the church of his kingdom.

4. That if any lands had been taken from the see of Canterbury, he should fully restore them as they were held by that see a year before archbishop Becket went out of England.

5. That to all the clergy, and laity of either sex, who had been deprived of their possessions on the account of that prelate, he should likewise restore those possessions with his peace and favour.

to the see of Lincoln;—but the chapter not approving him on account of his order, and also being a foreigner, proposed that either one of his own treasurers Richard, or one named Herbert, his chaplain, a canon of Lincoln, and archdeacon of Canterbury, should rather be chosen to fill that see; to which the king properly replied, “All these are rich enough already; for the future I will never bestow any benefice from intercession, or favour, or from any other motive than the sincere belief that my choice will be pleasing to God.”—And in consequence of this declaration they consented to elect the person whom he had recommended.—

All these matters, together with other affairs in Normandy, Scotland, and Wales, had long divided the attention of this great king, and called for all his wisdom to conduct them; and yet to most of these he was generally equal, and we may add, with justice, he would even have been so to all of them, if he had had faithful friends and relations, and ministers of the same wisdom and fortitude with himself; but as these things cannot all unite in one person and at all times, so Henry often found himself embarrassed by the ill conduct of others, and in consequence, that time spent in rectifying their mistakes, which, if employed according to his own plans and projects, might have rendered his empire such as would have answered his most sanguine hopes, and flattered his highest expectations.

His younger son John was one of those checks which I have noticed:—while his brothers were busied in stirring up an unnatural war in Normandy, he was taken up in waging a successful one in Ireland, which was managed in such a manner as shewed at once a want of spirit and of prudence. At last all the interest of the English being apparently going to wreck in that kingdom, this head-
long

long young prince was recalled; and Henry de Courcy, earl of Ulster, substituted Lieutenant in his stead.

After the departure of this prince, the care of the new viceroy began to put things upon a better footing, checking the navies in their depredations, and working to make a more firm establishment of the English in the country.—But Hugh de Lacey, who (from a wrong policy) was vested with powers which were independant of *him*, was so far from minding what he enjoined, that he even separated himself from him, and seemed to affect a power of his own; and, according to some, had even ordered a crown to be prepared for him. If these things were displeasing to Courcy, the reader will certainly conclude they must have proved still more so to the King of England, who, when he received intelligence of this strange behaviour, (which doubtless was not conveyed to him without some exaggerations) immediately sent the accused orders to return to England. But Lacey slighted these orders; and this circumstance increased the suspicion which at least it had the strongest appearance of justifying.—Henry, however, was in a cruel dilemma how to proceed against this extraordinary man. It must certainly be dangerous to let him go on in this manner; but then, if his master had been possessed of the clearest proofs of his guilt, it would certainly have been no less dangerous to have attempted using force against so great a chief. For as Lacey had a number both of English and Irish troops at his command, and was besides a person of deep policy, every thing was to be apprehended from such a man once provoked; and the kindling a civil war in Ireland, whichever party might be most likely to prevail, was a ready way to open a door to the Irish to fall upon both, an advantage that no prudent prince would think of giving them

them the least chance for, and which indeed was the only consideration that could have prevailed on Henry for a moment to endure the behaviour that he was informed this ambitious chief had adopted, and which, upon an impartial examination of the whole affair, it appears that he really had given his enemies grounds to accuse him of.

But however extensive the views of Lacey were, he was not permitted long to indulge himself in the hopes of accomplishing them. Death, the end of all things, put an end to his schemes and his existence when least expected, and levelled this great man with the dust. Being at this time employed in building a castle on the borders of Meath, and going out to take a view how it went on, attended by three English soldiers he had also taken with him, one O'Meay, an Irishman, whom he had lately received into his family. Advancing before the rest of his followers about a stone's throw, with this man with whom he had been conversing, as he stooped down to observe something about the building, the latter took that opportunity of striking his head off with an axe, which he had concealed under his mantle.—The guards, who saw him fall, immediately ran to the spot; but they were neither early enough to save their master, nor to avenge his death.—Thus fell Lacey in the midst of all these troubles, and thus was the king delivered from the apprehensions of a civil war between his subjects in Ireland, the thought of which had given him great anxiety.—On the news of his death that prince ordered his younger son John once more to go over to Ireland, and take charge of the lands of Lacey during the minority of his son.

Yet on hearing of his brother Geoffrey's death, he suddenly stopped John from setting out on this expedition. Yet he had all along entertained

tertain'd a desire of seeing him made lord of Ireland, though he seem'd to demur upon crowning him king of that country, which at first he himself had propos'd; and even now a cardinal arriv'd in England, as legate from the pope, in order to settle the affair of the intended coronation. But Henry had by this time very wisely laid aside all such ridiculous designs, in regard to John, and even went so far (as we have seen) as to countermand his passage to Ireland.

During these transactions, the preparations for the Holy War were making all over Europe, whilst in Palestine the sultan Saladin laid siege to Jerusalem;—on which emergency the patriarch of Antioch wrote a letter to the king of England. in which, after having complimented him on his power and his wisdom, he told him, That the distressed Christians of the East implored him to make haste, and bring them a powerful aid in that extremity of danger, that the holy sepulchre of the Lord, and the noble city of Antioch might by him be saved from such a subjection to foreigners and infidels, as would be a disgrace to Christendom.

In answer, Henry assured the Christians of the East, that even sooner than they could hope, such a multitude of the Faithful should arrive to their assistance, *as eye had not seen, nor ear heard neither had it entered into the heart of man to conceive*; and, that amongst other princes, he and his son Richard rejecting all the glory of this world, despising all its pleasures, and submitting all its interests to their concern for this object, would personally visit them, and employ their whole force to succour and defend them.

The Crusade was also preached in Wales with such success, that it excited above three thousand of the natives of that country to engage in it. But
no

no such thing was done in Ireland, which, had it been tried was not likely to have answered the purpose; since the new settlers would never have hazarded leaving the country, and the old Irish were too poor to undertake such an expedition.— There Roderic king of Connaught had once more resigned his dominions to his son Manmoy; but the government of that prince being disagreeable to many of his subjects, they solicited the aid of the English to dispossess him. Courcy being applied to, readily lent them his assistance, in hopes of reducing Connaught to obedience; but his designs were frustrated, as were also those of the revoltors, by an alliance that Manmoy made with Donald O'Brian, by means of which he was enabled to drive them out of the country, and thus once more to establish himself in the kingdom.

There a synod was held about this period, under the archbishop of Dublin, for the better regulation of the clergy of the church of Ireland, and during this synod some accusations were made, and recriminated between the English and Welch, and the Irish priests concerning certain enormities, which being proved, were followed with some reprimands and suspensions; and the rest of the proceedings were chiefly such as tended to promote celibacy among the Irish clergy.

Those troubles still continued, which Roderic O'Connor, the former monarch, beheld as a calm spectator, from the monastery to which he had retired:—and the people of that country doomed, whether under their own kings or under a foreign power, to be alike restless and alike unhappy, were still involved in disputes both with the English and with one another, when Henry the second, to whom they had all sworn allegiance, died at Normandy, in the year of Christ

Christ eleven hundred and eighty nine, and the fifty-eighth year of his age, without having lived either to see his Irish conquests settled, or to perform his journey to the Holy Land. He (allowing for human frailties) was certainly a wise and not a bad prince, possessed of great personal valour, still greater fortitude, much penetration, and many fine accomplishments. After his death he was succeeded by his son, who consequently became king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, &c.

Richard, surnamed *Cœur de Lion*, was crowned at Westminster, in the year eleven hundred and eighty nine, John still remaining vested with the sovereignty of Ireland, for which reason the style of lord of Ireland was not added to the titles of his brother.

Indeed this king, whose heart was set upon the crusade, made so little account of what passed in that kingdom, that whatever distinction he might have been pleased to assume from hence, it must have been but a mere empty title;—for John was in full possession of that grant which had been made him in the last reign, and his lieutenants and ministers managed matters in his name, and carried them on as best agreed with their inclinations.

Ever since the death of old Hugh Lacey, his son had kept up the difference between their family, and that of the Courcies, and carrying things with a very high hand, the Irish army began again to revolt, and again entered into a solemn league to be true to each other, to the utter destruction of the English name, and the extirpation of all that nation from the island. Among the chief of the conspirators was Cormac O'Connor one of the sons of Roderic, who was able to assemble such a large body of fighting men, as he doubted
not

not but would be sufficient to recover the whole kingdom.

There was a remarkable fight between this Cormac O'Connor, and the English, which well deserves to be noted here. Having gathered together a great army with intention to set about his enterprise, Courcy, as soon as he heard of it, having little dependance upon any of the family of Lacey, sent for his brother St. Lawrence to come to his assistance with all speed, which he accordingly did, but with a band of men whose number did not exceed thirty knights, and two hundred foot :—But he did not march secretly enough for his route to be unknown to O'Connor, who contrived to lay an ambush for him, into which when he and his followers were suddenly and unexpectedly fallen, a sudden terror and a amazement seized upon them all. And one Montgomery, a horseman, turning short, when he surveyed their desperate situation, thus addressed them, “ Let us now fly, and save our lives ; as for the foot we can do them no good by fighting ; but by flying and saving our own lives, we may succour our wives, children and kindred.”—But Sir Amorick's brother, who led the foot, being by this time come up to the place, and hearing what the other had said, made this heroic answer :—
“ I see by all circumstances that you mean to fly, but you Sir Amorick, my noble brother, what mean you, to give ear to this cowardly horseman ? Will you leave us here, as sheep in the mouths of those merciless people, as ravening wolves, ready to rend us in pieces ?—Have you forgotten the bloody battles we followed you in ? And do you not see that we have left our country, our wives, our children, and our dearest friends, and now stand at death's door, to be forsaken by you,
Vol. I. S whom

whom we never left so desolate and distressed.—If you weigh not our lamentable estate, regard your own honour, and the house you were descended of.—Will you lose in an hour, the honour you won in many years? Call to remembrance, most worthy knight, how that in Uriel, in like manner distressed, you dismounted yourself, slew your horse, led the foot, animated the company, recovered yourself, and came off with honour. We are your flesh your blood; we are come hither to fight, to live and to die together. I know the worst. I am resolved; if we fight, we die; if we fly, we are slain.—Is it not better then to fight like men, and so win honour, than to be slain in flight like beasts, and gain shame forever?”—Having thus spoken, Sir Armoric turned to the foot, and scarcely being able to speak for sorrow, thus resolved, “I have no power to fly, and leave my friends, my flesh, my blood, in this extreme distress: I will live with them who for my sake came hither, if it so please God, and I will die with them if it be his pleasure, and ending here, we shall meet again, bodies and souls, at the last day, God and the world bear witness, that we do as Christian knights, ought to do.—I yield my soul into God’s hands, my body to return whence it came; my service to my native prince, my heart to my wife and brother. — To Sir John de Courcy, my might, and my force, and bloody sweat to the aid of all you that are in the field.” At these words he alighted, kneeled down, kissed the cross of his sword, and ran his horse through, saying, “Thou shalt never serve against me, that hast so worthily served with me.” The rest then did the like. After which looking about with a cheerful countenance, as if he had not been the man that was formerly so much dismayed, he charged two
young

young gentlemen of the company, to go to the top of an adjoining hill, and thence beholding the battle, to make true report to his brother Courcy, and to others of that day's service. "Immediately (says Hanmer) they prepared for battle; the enemies marvelled, seeing them approach, that they durst (being so few) abide the field.—They made likewise a stand, and cast doubts whether the Englishmen in this attempt had not some great supply, rescue, or main battle following after; they would not give the onset till they had knowledge thereof by scouts and espials."—In conclusion the same author affirms, that though O'Connor's army consisted of about twenty thousand men, yet a thousand of them fell, and that the Englishmen turning back to back, when they were surrounded, fought till they were all slain on the field, leaving to their enemies a dear-bought victory.—

I have inserted this account for the curiosity of it, which, if it be not exaggerated, is indeed a wonderful, though I cannot think it a commendable, instance of the prowess of Sir Amoric and his men:—if the disproportion in numbers was any thing like what Hanmer mentions, it was the height of rashness to attempt engaging whilst any other method was left in their choice, and that they might have avoided coming to a battle seems more than probable, at least when the astonishment of the Irish was so great that they durst not give the charge, a circumstance which might have furnished them with some more favourable opportunity than that of a regular engagement, whereby to extricate themselves from their embarrassments. But this was the fashion in which military men, especially knights, at that time of day threw away their own lives and those of their followers. Instances of this kind are not so fre-

quent since the introduction of a new discipline in Europe; nevertheless there is no occasion to despise their valour on one side, nor to commend rashness on the other; and taking every circumstance of the above story exactly as my author relates it, that this was rashness I think is quite incontestable.

Yet, after this victory, in remembrance of which Connor erected an abbey, for some reason or other (surely not because he *bad defeated* the English, as some seem to intimate) he thought proper to treat of a peace with Lacey, which from the posture of affairs at that time, we may presume was granted him without much difficulty.

And here it is to be observed, little to the honour of either nation, that both English and Irish knew pretty well when to ask or when to grant a peace; the one soliciting, and the other complying with the solicitation generally upon the same principle—of *convenience*,—and neither side being very nice in regard to keeping such engagements, when an opportunity served to break them to advantage. If there are those who think this censure too severe upon either of the parties, they have nothing to do but to read history with their eyes open, and their senses clear, and they will presently be convinced of the truth of the charge.

Isabel, only daughter of Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, was this year married to William, lord Maxfield, earl marshal of England, who was a great favourite of king Richard, and carried the sceptre at that prince's coronation.—This William, lord Maxfield (who was afterwards created earl of Pembroke) came over as lord justice and governor of Ireland, in the year eleven hundred and ninety-one; he was also one of the regency of England in the

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the absence of king Richard, and had a great estate in Ireland.—The country remained in a tranquil state during his administration.—At length he resigned it to Hugh Valois, who continued chief governor till the death of the king, which happened in the year of Christ eleven hundred and ninety-nine.—

That prince after a successful expedition to the Holy Land, in the course of which one of his allies was drowned, and another basely deserted him, was seized on his return home, and cast into prison, by order of Leopold duke of Austria, and after very long confinement, and many indignities, was at length released for a large sum of money.—But yet he was not fated to end his days in peace; for passing over afterwards into Bretagne, on foreign affairs, he was shot with an arrow, as he was besieging a castle belonging to one of his vassals, who refused to yield up to him a certain hidden treasure which he had found. Thus fell Richard Cœur de Lion, and to him succeeded,

John earl of Moreton, already lord of Ireland. This prince succeeding in manifest injury to his nephew, Arthur, the real and undoubted heir to the crown, whom he traiterously murdered, and being too weak as well as too wicked to keep well with his barons, found his reign one scene of continued disturbance, which began at his first accession to the throne, and accompanied him even to his death. He at first affected to take the crown by election (concerning which circumstance some historians have made a great parade) but this was only because he could not pretend to a better claim; and the election was such an one as many had afterwards cause to repent who had a hand in confirming his injustice.

A. D.
1199.
John.

The lord justice continued in his government no longer than the first year of the reign of this fickle prince, who, after that term, not only displaced, but fined him, and appointed another to succeed him.

Meyler Fitz-Henry, the natural son of king Henry, and half brother to Fitz-Gerald, was pitched upon the successor.—William de Braos about this time received a grant of the honours of Limerick for him and his heirs, with the appurtenances, the city of Limerick and some other cantreds excepted; but (disapproving of the heinous crime that was committed by John, in murdering his young nephew, after he had deprived him of his succession) he was soon afterward compelled to remove to the Isle of Man, and from thence to France, where he died; but his wife and son were taken and imprisoned for life, if not absolutely starved to death by the tyrant.

A. D.
1203.

Courcy being disgraced, Hugh de Lacey was made lord justice of Ireland, who had orders to arrest him, which at length he effected, by means of the treachery of some of the latter's servants, who betrayed him into the hands of those sent to apprehend him, but not till he had made a brave resistance, in which many of them were slain and wounded.

But we are told that Lacey, instead of rewarding, punished those who had perpetrated the villainy with death. But if he did so, this made but poor amends for Courcy, who was entrapped in his words concerning Arthur's death, as Braos had been, and being sent over to England, was now for that offence condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the tower of London,—while Lacey was sent for to court, in order to take the reward of his services.—

At

At his departure Meyler Fitz-Henry was again made chief justice, but Lacey was rewarded by the king with a grant of the earldom.—The king of Connaught released at this time two parts out of three of his country, retaining the third at the yearly rent of an hundred marks, and the next year he offered to continue tenant to the same third part at the aforesaid rent, to be held per Baroniam, and to pay a yearly tribute of three hundred marks, for the other two parts, saving and reserving to the king two cantreds with the inhabitants, and liberty of building castles therein.—And a writ was sent to the lord justice, commanding him to build a strong castle at Dublin.

Upon that magistrate's going over to England, Hugh de Lacey was again made deputy. — And about this time there was a great rising in Munster.

Lacey, in the mean while, not knowing how to use his power with moderation,—which seems to have been the fault of the family, — caused John de Courcy's natural son to be murdered, and other outrages to be committed; for which, and on account of the height of taxes, many dissatisfactions arose; and the natives fishing in these troubled waters, began again very much to annoy the English.

Amongst other enormities, the Birnes, Toolles, and many more of the old Irish, surprised a party of the inhabitants of Dublin, who were chiefly a colony from Bristol, as they were walking forth for the air one Easter Monday, and destroyed above three hundred of them, which appeared but as a prelude to other outrages.

But now John thought proper to make a second voyage into that country, which the Laceys no sooner heard, than they fled to France.—

The king was met by O'Neal, and above twenty other Irish potentates, who swore fealty to him; but O'Connor before-mentioned, opposed him in Connaught, and was afterwards taken prisoner,—King John caused money to be coined in Ireland, made a more accurate division of all the lands he held, into counties, and finally, as far as possible, abolished the Brehon laws, and instituted those of England in their room. After which, having done much more than any man could have expected from him, he set sail on the tenth of April, and departed again for England, leaving the lord Gray chief justice, to administer the government in his room.

But before I proceed any farther, I shall relate what more, is said to have happened to the great John de Courcy after his imprisonment in the tower, where it was intended that he should have remained to the end of his life, and whence it is said he was delivered on the following occasion.

“ Not long after, there fell some difference between John king of England, and Philip king of France, for the right of some fort in Normandy, who to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, agreed on each side to put it to a combat; of king Philip's there was a Frenchman in readiness; king John upon the sudden, knew not what to do for a champion to encounter with him; at length, one attending upon his person, informed him, that there was one Courcy in the tower of London, the only man in his dominions (if he would undertake it) to answer the challenge.—King John joyful at this, sent the first, the second, and third time, promising great rewards, and rich gifts, and that it stood him upon as far as the honour of his crown and kingdom did reach, to make good the combat. Courcy answered
very

very frowardly, (the which was taken in good part in regard of the urgent necessity) That he would never fight for him, neither for any such as he was, that he was not worthy to have one drop of blood spilt for, that he was not able to requite him the wrong he had done him, neither to restore him the heart's ease he had bereaved him of, yet notwithstanding all the premises, he was willing, and would with all expedition, be ready to venture his life in defence of the crown and his country.

Whereupon it was agreed, that he should be dieted, apparelled and armed to his content, and that his own sword should be brought him out of Ireland. The day came, the place appointed, the lists provided, the scaffolds set up, the princes with their nobility on each side, with thousands in expectation. Forth comes the French champion, gave a turn, and rests him in his tent: they sent for Courcy, who all this while was trussing of himself about with strong points, and answered the messengers, "If any of their company were to go to such a banquet, I think he would make no great haste." Forth he comes, gives a turn, and went into his tent. When the trumpet sounded to battle, forth come the combatants, and viewed each other. Courcy beheld him with a wonderful stern countenance, and passed by. The Frenchman not liking his grim look, the strong proportion and feature of his person, stalked still along, and when the trumpet sounded the last charge, Courcy drew out his sword, and the Frenchman ran away, and conveyed himself to Spain. Whereupon they sounded victory, the people clapt their hands, and cast up their caps; king Philip then desired John that Courcy might be called before them, to shew some part of his strength and manhood, by a blow upon a helmet. It was agreed, a stake was set in the ground, and a shirt of mail;
and

and a helmet thereon; Courcy drew his sword, looked wonderfully stern upon the prince, cleft the helmet, the shirt of mail, and the stake so far in that none could pull it out but himself. Then the princes demanded of him, what he meant to look so sourly upon them; his answer was, If he had missed his blow upon the block, he would have cut off both the kings heads.—All that he had said was taken in good part;—King John discharged him out of all his troubles, gave him great gifts, and restored him to his former possessions in Ireland.”

But to return to our history.—It was not long that Gray remained chief justice; after John's arrival in England, he was recalled, and another appointed in his room.

This was Henry de Londres, archbishop of Dublin, a man who had the firmness openly to oppose the king's submission and alienation of his dominions to the pope, an extraordinary circumstance ever to take place, but which we shall pass by here, as being foreign to the tenor of this history.

A. D.
1215.

Geoffrey de Monfeo, was next made lord keeper of Ireland; with whom Sir Edmund Butler was associated. In his time the citizens of Dublin obtained leave to build a bridge over the Liffey.

But what is more, in his time there seems to have been a pause of tranquility in that unhappy country. Perhaps it is not easy to tell to what this quietness among the people might be owing, except we attribute it to their beginning already to feel the good effects of some salutary laws lately established among them: yet it should appear that these were too recent to work such an effect, and ordinances newly made are generally very ill received amongst a people like the Irish, tenacious of their ancient customs; besides, as the reduction of the island was still in their memory, it is natural

natural to imagine that the very best laws could be but little relished by them, as, let them be never so excellent in themselves, they would still be regarded as coming from the conquerors, and as such must be a long time before they could be cordially received.

Be this as it may, John had altogether better luck in Ireland than he had in his own country, where his barons meeting him sword in hand, wrung from him a consent to Magna Charta—at one time, whilst at another the pope laid his kingdom under an interdict, and would not restore it till he would consent to hold it of the Roman see.—Such instances as the latter are sufficient to make one hesitate at pronouncing any thing which might tend to promote the good of a state to flow from such a source.—This prince after having seen his realm miserably torn in pieces with civil wars, and a foreign power called over to brave him in his own land, expired in the midst of all these confusions, in the forty-ninth year of his age, not without some suspicion of being poisoned.—

To John succeeded his son, a minor of about ten years of age, who was proclaimed king, and being crowned at Gloucester, did homage to pope Innocent, and the church of Rome, for the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and besides agreed to pay three thousand marks yearly to the holy see, according to a promise made by his deceased father.

A. D.
1216.
Henry III.

William earl Marshal, who was then protector of the king, issued proclamations in order to preserve his subjects true to their allegiance, but in this they were more effectually preserved by observing how the party of Louis the Dauphin fell off, chiefly on account of the pope's change of conduct

conduct; for he, since his reconciliation with John, had turned all the thunder of the church upon his adversaries, who were now excommunicated by his orders.

A writ was also issued at this time to the king's subjects in Ireland, as well as another to Hugh Lacey, inviting him to return, and promising him all manner of protection and restitution, if he would come back upon sight of it; which Lacey thereupon immediately did, well pleased with the opportunity, that came so unhopèd for and unexpected.

In the mean time, Geoffrey de Morisco was still lord justice of Ireland, only Henry de Londres was associated with him; to whom the new king sent letters of thanks for his services to his father, at the same time exhorting him to continue the same to himself, and take order to require the oaths of fealty from the Irish nobility and other matters of the like nature, assuring them that they should have the same liberties in Ireland as his subjects in England enjoyed.

Henry de Londres was soon after made legate of Ireland by the pope.—He built the castle of Dublin, in the year twelve hundred and twenty.

And now died at London, earl Marshall, the protector of the king, who was succeeded by his son William, a bishop. He had great contests with Hugh Lacey, which were very prejudicial to the county of Meath. About the same time the county of Thomond was granted by the government to O'Brian king of that district, in consideration of a yearly tribute of one hundred and thirty marks, during the king's minority.

Fryn.

The lord chief justice being an archbishop, and legate and too solicitous to preserve and extend his spiritual jurisdiction, notice was taken of his conduct by the court of England; and, after having

having ruled Ireland for five years, he was at length displaced and succeeded by William earl Marshal who received orders to seize on Connaught, as being forfeited by O'Connor, and to deliver it up to Richard de Burg.--He was succeeded by Geoffry de Morisco, in whose time the Irish rose up in arms, but were defeated and subdued. After him Hubert Burg, earl of Kent, being also made earl of Connaught, and appointed lord justice of Ireland, deputed Richard de Burg to fill the office; but neither held it long; for the former falling under the king's displeasure, the latter was recalled, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald sent over in his room; during whose administration died William earl Marshal.—The same year the lord justice made a voyage to England, and after his return Richard earl Marshall was slain in a great battle against the Irish, which was fought on the Curragh of Kildare. During the lord justice's absence the king of Connaught came over also to Eng'and, and laid a complaint against John de Burg, for having wasted his country with fire and sword, alledging that he was a loyal liegeman, and paid the stipulated tribute for the quiet possession of his kingdom, which he presumed no English subject had a right to enter and ravage at pleasure. So just a remonstrance was patiently attended to by the king, who determined to restore the Irish prince to his demesnes, and wrote to the nobles of that country to drive out John de Burg, enjoining them, "to pluck out by the root that fruitless plant which Hubert de Burg had planted in those parts, that it might bud no more," and to establish the king of Connaught in his kingdom, which was accordingly effected.

At this time Henry having levied forces against the Welch, sent to the lord chief justice for aid,
that

that came not till too late, on which account that officer fell under the king's displeasure, in consequence of which he was recalled, but not till he had quelled a revolt of the Irish, and with the aid of Cormac Mac Dermot Mac Rory, subdued Tyrconnel, one half of which district he gave him as a reward for the part he took in the expedition.

This governor being thus removed, Theobald Butler and John Cogan were made lord justices, in whose administration we find nothing remarkable recorded, except that one Johannes Rufus, agent to the pope, came thither to collect his holiness's money, and succeeded so well in his business, that he carried the sum of six thousand marks out of the kingdom of Ireland.

After him Sir John Fitz-Geoffrey was made chief justice, and many complaints of abuses being conveyed to court, the king of England sent over a writ that all the Irish who chose to live as his subjects should enjoy the benefit of the English laws; but he confined it only to those who should submit to acknowledge his authority. This monarch who had now projected a marriage between his son the prince of Wales and the Infanta of Spain, amongst other parts of his dominions bestowed on the prince, included Ireland, which he was to hold in full possession (the cities of Limerick and Dublin only excepted) but in such a manner as that it might not be separated from the crown of England.—And this last clause the king resolved to make a saving one to the crown; for after this grant, his son having issued a writ which ran in a contrary manner to those in England, he sent orders to supersede it, and to stop all proceedings upon the cause, which orders were accordingly put into execution.

In the time of Alan de la Zouch, who is the next chief justice, we find mentioned, some Irish troops

troops embarked for England, to assist the earl of Chester, who was in rebellion against the king; but his son, prince Edward encountering the Irish fleet, and destroying most part of them, the scheme came to nothing.

We are farther informed, that besides the affair of the above mentioned, Edward proceeded in other matters to use his authority in a manner that was not pleasing to his father; for he set about to remove the chief justice, and put another in his room, to prevent which innovation the king sent dispatches, commanding the lord justice and the nobles, in case Edward should make such an appointment, by no means to obey any person constituted by his authority.

The next chief justice was Stephen, surnamed Longsword, earl of Salisbury, who slew O'Neal, an Irish insurgent, and many others in the streets of Down; but was soon after betrayed and killed, as some say, by his own people.

After his death William Den being appointed lord chief justice, there was a great commotion in Munster, the Mac Carthies being the principal actors in it. — These were intent upon recovering to themselves Desmond, which they claimed as their antient patrimony, and from whence they now rose to expel the English. They succeeded so far as to surprize Thomas Fitz-Gerald and his son John with many knights, gentlemen, and others, and made such a strong association, that for a while they carried all before them, and might certainly have done so much longer, if they had not, according to custom, fell to quarrelling among themselves, by means of which bad policy the English found the way, by degrees, to recover their power again in that part of the country.—In the midst of these transactions the lord chief justice died, and was succeeded by Richard de Capella.

But

But the Burks and Geraldines quarrelling concerning certain lands in the province of Connaught added to the confusions of this unhappy country.— At length Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Fitz-Thomas, and one of Richard's party, carried things so far, as at a meeting to seize upon the lord justice and Richard Burk, heir of Ulster, together with Butler, Cogan, and others there assembled whom they imprisoned; but these were afterwards released by order of a parliament that met at Kilkenny,¹ and took the affair into consideration.

The king, being informed of these disturbances, wrote to the great men of Ireland to keep the peace of the nation, and soon after these affairs recalled Capella, and sent David Barry over in his room.

All this time, Henry had had his hands full with the barons of England, who had carried their disputes with their sovereign so far as, after a fruitless reference of them to the arbitration of the king of France, to take up arms against him as their ancestors had done against king John his father. These barons, who would not suffer the people to be oppressed by any but themselves, carried on their plan with various success, till in the battle of Lewes under the leading of Simon de Mountfert, earl of Leicester, notwithstanding the great prowess of prince Edward, and many others who fought upon the king's side, they made Henry prisoner; and afterwards obliged his son likewise to surrender upon conditions. Then Mountfort ruled the land just as he pleased, filling all places of profit and trust with his creatures, and packing parliaments at pleasure, till, at length, many of the barons, perceiving and detesting his tyranny, raised a powerful opposition to his oppressive government; and having found means to deliver the prince from his captivity, joined him with such forces as they could raise, and engaged to support him against the
arch

arch rebel. Thus, supported, Edward marched in quest of the enemy, and having surprized the camp of Leicester's son, in his route, soon after came up with the earl himself at Evesham, where a great battle was fought between them, which terminated in favour of the royalists, Simon de Mountfort himself being slain in the engagement, and his troops routed with a terrible slaughter.—In this battle the king himself, whom his enemies had purposely placed in the front of their army, was wounded, and was likely to have been slain, as he was no way distinguished from the common men by his armour; however, the fruits of the prince's victory were such as fully paid both father and son for their hazard and fatigue; for by this the power of the barons was broken, and such a stroke alone could either have secured the king his dominion, or the infatuated people any prospect of that liberty which they contended for.

Affairs of this kind took off a great deal of the king's attention from Ireland, as the reader will naturally imagine:—and even after the victory he had obtained at Evesham had given him more respite, he was still mortified with the tidings from Ireland, for about the year twelve hundred Sir Robert de Ufford, chief justice, being succeeded by Richard de Excester, and he by Sir James Audley, the Irish were again every where in motion, invading the possessions of the English with fire and sword, and falling upon them when they were least expected. And at this time the king of Connaught defeated Walter Burke, in a pitched battle, who was obliged to fly for his life, leaving a great number of knights, gentlemen, and soldiers dead upon the field.—These wars were followed by a famine and a pestilence, which contributed to spread devastation over the country.

Sir James Audley dying in the year twelve hundred and seventy, as we have before observed, left matters but in a bad situation in Ireland, nevertheless the pope required the tithes of all spiritual promotions for three years to come, and though the people murmured, yet his nuncio would not go empty away.

—Maurice Fitz-Maurice Fitz-Gerald succeeded him as lord justice, in which office he continued till the death of Henry, which happened in the year of Christ twelve hundred and seventy-two, after a reign of fifty-six years, which had been full of troubles and commotions.

Edward I.

Edward the First, his son, surnamed Longshanks, succeeded him;—having made an expedition to the Holy Land, he was come as far as Sicily on his return home, when he received the news of his father's death, which, it is easy to imagine, hastened his journey.—Arriving at Dover in the beginning of August, he was crowned on the nineteenth day of the same month at Westminster—Maurice Fitz-Maurice Fitz-Gerald being continued lord justice, the king's peace was proclaimed in Ireland;—Edward affirming, that he was both willing and able, (by God's help) to do justice to all his subjects both great and small.

Nevertheless, the Irish entertaining other opinions, revolted, in the first year of this prince's reign, and demolished the castles of Aldleek, Roscommon, Schelligath, and Randon, and began to carry devastation through the country; and Maurice himself was betrayed by his followers not long after, in Ophaly, by whom he was taken and put into prison.

The next year he was succeeded by Walter Genevil, who was lately returned from the Holy Land.—During his administration we are told the Highland Scots made a descent upon Ireland, burned

burned a great number of villages, and committed other cruelties, in revenge for which the English of Ulster and Connaught, under the leading of Richard de Burk and Sir Eustace Poer, levied an army, with which they passed over to Scotland, and fully retorted these cruelties upon those invaders in their own country; and after this, Thomas de Clare came over into the island, and married the daughter of Maurice Fitz-Maurice. About the same time the English were overthrown by the natives in a great battle at Glinbury, and then Ralph Peppard; and one O'Hanlon gave battle to O'Neill in the North.—Walter Lord Genevil being sent for into England. Sir Robert Ufford was a second time appointed lord chief justice. During his administration, Mortogh, a great Irish chief, was taken and executed. But Thomas Clare having wars with O'Brian Roe, prince of Thomond whom he took prisoner and caused to be beheaded, but was soon after entrapped by the Irish, and being caught as in a net, amidst the passes of the mountains, he, his father-in-law and all their followers were so much reduced by famine, that they were obliged to lay down their arms, to yield the castle of Roscommon to the enemy, and besides to bind themselves to make reparation for O'Brian's death; for the performance of which terms the Irish obliged them to give hostages, which was a most mortifying circumstance; but if they had done otherwise, they must infallibly have perished.

While the English and Irish were thus engaged in quarrels which concerned their different interests, the Irish princes likewise fell out among themselves about matters which the English had nothing to do with. Mac Dermot of Muy Lurg, raising a great army, gave battle to the king of Connaught, and the latter was slain, together with two thousand men.

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The king of England, receiving information of these disturbances, cited Ufford to appear before him, and demanded how he could permit such public enormities under his government? — Ufford made answer, That these things were doubtless greatly exaggerated by those who reported them to his majesty; but, however, as to what had really passed between the Irish princes, he said he thought it expedient to suffer one knave (or rebel) to cut off another, in order thereby to save money in the king's coffer, and to purchase the peace of the land. — As princes at that time of day regarded policy more than justice, Edward was satisfied with this answer, and, with a smile, bade him return to Ireland.

A. D.
1281.

Robert Fulborne, bishop of Waterford, was appointed lord justice, and, during his administration, and that of his successor, John Sandford, archbishop of Dublin, we hear of nothing but risings amongst the Irish and civil war among the English. — The Fitz-Geralds and the Burks, the Butlers, the Verdons, and the Birminghams were perpetually destroying and skirmishing with each other on the one hand, and the natives striving to regain their independence on the other. — For O'Connor Faly was slain by Jordan Cumin, and his brother by Birmingham; but Mac Coghlan defeated William Burk and his followers at Dealna. — While these wars were thus carried on, it is easy to imagine, poverty and misery must be their attendants. The land, instead of being loaded with the fruits of plenty, was deluged with the blood of the slain; and while the several parties were contending whose the country should be, all alike contributed to desolate and destroy it. Whatever excuses might be offered for the Irish at this early period, surely none can be made for the English, who living in the very midst of peril and danger, and in a land where

where nothing but the divisions of the natives could ever have given them an opportunity to establish their settlement, could yet so far forget themselves as to fall into the like error, and with great eagerness do the work of their enemies.—Yet this is the fruit of ambition, which is of such a nature, that having much, it still will be grasping at more, and never thinks it possesses enough while there is any thing else to be had.—And in consequence of this absurd conduct had the Irish even now united, perhaps it had not been impossible for them to have regained what they had lost, and to have driven the conquerors out of the island.—

The next lord justice we find mentioned is Sir William Vesey, between whom and John Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Gerald there was great animosity, so that both these impeached each other of high treason, and both appeared to answer to so extraordinary a charge face to face in England.

The occasion of the affair being brought before such a tribunal was, that Vesey having *heard* many *complaints* thrown out against his administration, not contented with endeavouring to justify himself, having a private pique, as we may suppose, against the baron of Ophaly, endeavoured by all possible means to throw the accusation upon him, as a breeder of disturbances between man and man, but one who though he had much power, had little inclination to serve the king. Amongst other speeches to this purport, he said, That the baron was fierce as a lion in his private quarrels, but mild as a lamb when the public required his services.—Which coming to Fitz-Gerald's ears, he highly resented it, and many bitter speeches passed between them, infomuch that their followers were ready to come to blows.—And thus provoked, the lord justice having appointed William Hay his deputy, made haste over to England, whither the other quickly

followed him.—A day being appointed, they were carried before the king and council, and each being permitted to plead his cause, used all his rhetoric to defend himself, and to accuse his adversary. Their speeches being somewhat remarkable, both as they exhibit the charges referred to, and as they may serve for specimens of the rhetoric of the times, I have taken the pains here to transcribe them, and to present them in their own dress to the reader.

The lord justice being first called upon to speak, delivered himself in the following terms :

“ My dread Sovereign,

AS I must acknowledge myself somewhat aggrieved to be entangled in so intricate a matter; so I am glad as heart can think, that so weighty a controversy is brought to the deciding of so upright an umpire. And whereas it stood with your majesty's pleasure, with the advice of this your honourable council, that I, as unworthy, should have the government of your realm of Ireland; and during my time, your majesty's subjects have been (I may not deny it) diversely annoyed;—for my discharge, as I said in Ireland, so I vow here in England, that he kneeleth here before your highness [pointing to the baron of Ophaly] that is the root and crop of these enormities; for it is well known that he beareth that stroke with the Irish, as if he once but frown at them, they dare not be so hardy as once to peak out of their cabins: and whereas his force doth greatly amaze them, think you but his countenance doth wonderfully encourage them to the furtherance of which it is apparently known, and it shall be proved that he hath not only by sundry messages emboldened your majesty's enemies, to spoil your subjects, but also by his personal presence, in secret meetings, he gave them such courage,

courage, as neither the royalty of your highness, nor the authority of your deputy, neither the force of your laws, nor the strength of your puissant army, was able to quench the flame of these hurly-burlies that through his traitorous drifts were enkindled: these and the like enormities, through his privy packing with rebels, being daily committed, to bring me, your majesty's governor in the hatred of the people, his adherents both secretly muttered, and openly exclaimed against me and my government, as though the redress of all these harms had wholly lain in mine hands.

Whereupon, being in conference with such as were the chieftains of your realm of Ireland, albeit I took it to be expedient to point with my finger to the very sink or head-spring of all the treasons that by secret conspiracies were pretended and practised against your majesty and your subjects; yet notwithstanding, having more regard to modesty than to the defects of the baron of Ophaly, I did but glance at his packing in such secret sort, as none, or very few of the company could guess whom with my misty speeches I did touch. But as commonly the galled horse doth soonest kick, so this gentleman, being pricked, as it should seem, with the sting of his guilty conscience, broke out on a sudden, and, forgetting his allegiance to your highness, and his duty to me, your deputy; he took me up roughly, as though I had been rather his underling than his governor. The sum of which despightful speeches I refer to the testimony of the honourable audience where they were delivered. As for his manifold treasons, I am ashamed to rehearse such things as he did not stick to commit; and if it shall stand with your majesty's pleasure to adjourn the trial for a few days, I will charge him with such apparent items, as were his face made of brass,

he shall not be able to deny any one article that shall be booked against him."—

To which speech his antagonist made the following circumstantial reply :

"Most puissant prince, and my dread sovereign,"

WERE Mr. Vesey's mouth so just a measure as what he spake should be holden for gospel, this had been no fit place for so arrant a traitor, as he with his feigned glossing, would gladly prove me to be. But, sith it pleases your majesty, with so indifferent ballance to ponder both our tales ; I am thoroughly persuaded that my loyal innocence shall be able to overpoise his forged treachery. Your majesty hath heard many words to small purpose ; and as his complaint hitherto hath been generally huddled up, so my answer thereto may not particularly be framed. Whereas, therefore, he termeth me a supporter of thieves, a packer with rebels, and a conspirator with traitors ; if I should but with a bare word deny the premises, all his gay gloss of glittering speeches would suddenly fade away. Yea, but he craveth respite for the booking his articles : truly, so he hath need, for loitering and lingering is the only way he may devise to cloak his feigning and forging ; wherein he sheweth himself as crafty as the philosopher was accounted wise, that promised a tyrant, upon menacing words, to school his ass in philosophy, so he had seven years respite : because that in that space he was persuaded, that either the tyrant, the ass, or he would die. In like wise Mr. Vesey, upon respite granted him, would hang in hope, that either the life of your majesty (which God forbid) should be shortened, or that I, in tract of time, would be disfavoured ; or that he by one subtle prank or other should be of this heavy load disburthened.

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But if I have been as many years a malefactor as he voucheth, how happeneth it, that his tongue was tied before this late dissention began; why did he not, from time to time, advertise the council of my treasons; whereas now it may be probably conjectured, that he was edged to this service, rather for the hatred he beareth me, than for any love he oweth your royal majesty.

Touching the words I spake in Ireland, I purpose not, for ought I have heard as yet, to eat them up in England. And when I shall be called to testify such speeches as I delivered there, I will not be found so raw in my matter, as to lose my errand in the carriage, as Mr. Vesey hath done, or to crave farther respite for the registering of his manifold treasons. As for my secret meetings with Irish rebels; were I persuaded, (Mr. Vesey) that you were able to prove them; I would be found willing to acknowledge them, for if my conscience were so deeply stung as you pretend, I would take it far better, patiently acknowledging my trespass, to appeal to my king's mercy, than by denying my faults, to stand to the rigor of his justice.

As for meetings, I never had so many in woods with rebels, as you Mr. Vesey, have had in your chamber with cows; for it hath been manifestly apparent, that when the baron of Ophaly and the best nobility in Ireland have been debarred from entering your chamber, an Irish cow could have at all times access to you. No, Mr. Vesey, a cow, a horse, a hawk, and a silver cup have been the occasion of your slackness: when the subjects were oppressed, you would be contented to wink at their misery, so that your mouth were stopped with bribery; and when you had gathered

gathered your crumbs sufficiently together, you held it for a petty policy (and yet it was but a bare shift) to charge the nobility with such packing as you daily did practise;—but you must not think that we are babes, or that with such stale device, or gross juggling trick, you may so easily dusk or dazzle our eyes. Can any man, that is but slender-witted, be so far carried away as to believe that Mr. Vesey, being the king's deputy in Ireland, having his majesty's treasure, having the nobility at his beck, and the king's army at his command, but if he were disposed to bestir himself, he was able to ferret out such bare-breeched brats as swarm the English pale: if he said he could not, we must smile at his simplicity; and if he could and would not, how may he colour his disloyalty?

Yea, but I “bear such a stroke with the Irish, as that, upon any quarrel, I am able to annoy them!” What then? Because the baron of Ophaly can revenge his private injuries without the deputy, therefore the deputy may not vanquish the weak and naked rebels, without the furtherance of the baron of Ophaly? Whereas the contrary ought to be inferred: That if a private man can tame the Irish, what may then the magistrate do, that hath the prince's pay? But indeed it is hard to take hares with foxes. You must not think, Mr. Vesey, that you were sent governor into Ireland to dandle your trulls, to pen yourself within a town or city, to give rebels the gaze, to pill the subjects, and animate traitors; to fill your coffers, and to make yourself, by marring true men; to gather the birds, whilst others beat the bushes; and after to impeach the nobility of such treasons, as you only have committed. But forasmuch as our mutual complaints stand upon the one's Yea and the other's Nay,

Nay, and that you would be taken for a champion, and I am known to be no coward, let us, in God's name, leave lying for varlets, bearding for ruffians, facing for cracklers, chattering for twattlers, scolding for callets, booking for scribevners, pleading for lawyers, and let us try with the dint of sword (as becomes martial men to do) our mutual quarrels;—therefore, to justify that I am a true subject, and that thou, Vescy, art an arch traitor to God and to my king, here, in the presence of his highness, and in the hearing of this honourable assembly, I challenge the combat.”—

On this the people shouted, and Vescy replied, That he was most willing to accept the challenge; and accordingly a day was appointed whereon the matter was to be tried by a solemn duel; and all men were big with expectation of the event, which was likely, however the fortune of the day might turn, to occasion some discoveries relative to the administration of the king's affairs in Ireland.

But when the day arrived, and the lists were ordered to be prepared for this combat, one of the champions was missing:—in effect, Vescy, either distrusting his cause or his strength, privately withdrew himself into France, and disappointed the people of a duel.

This method of trying causes, which was still retained and practised in extraordinary cases in England, seems to have been of a piece with that of the ordeal, or fiery trial, and to have had as little foundation in reason as the latter; since superior courage, strength, or skill in handling his weapons, were most likely of any thing to give a man the victory; and as to the received notion in later times, That though Heaven should not interpose by miracle, yet he who is in the wrong will be so much daunted as to become an easy conquest

conquest to his antagonist; this argument how plausible soever it may appear, cannot always hold good. When men are weak as well as wicked, this may be the case; but how many do we read of, who have been guilty of the greatest enormities, and yet have fought with most undaunted spirit, as well as died with most invincible obstinacy.—It does not appear indeed that Vesey was of this class:—he seems rather to have been a weak man; and it is more than probable, by his behaviour in this case, that he had less courage than honesty, notwithstanding Campion calls him “a stern man, and full of courage, but rash and impudent of his tongue.” The latter part of this character is not always joined to the former.—On the whole, from his manner of conducting himself in respect to the baron he must certainly have been either extremely defective in courage or in common sense.

But however that may be, the king in consequence of this behaviour of the lord justice, caused all his lands in the county of Kildare to be given to the baron, and settled upon him and his heirs forever.

Returning to Ireland, elated with this success, he began to carry matters with a high hand in that country, and even went so far as to take Richard Burk, earl of Ulster, together with his brother William Burk prisoners; nevertheless these were released by order of the parliament assembled at Kilkenny, when William Doddingswel was lord justice, and there were those who threatened to impeach Fitz-Thomas in England; he replied, he could justify himself in regard to what he had done; but he rather chose to throw himself upon the king's mercy, and so the matter ended.

The lord justice dying, there were disturbances again among the Irish who now wasted great part
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of the province of Leinster, and then Thomas Fitz Thomas Fitz-Gerald filled the place for a time, but was soon removed to make room for John Wogan, who did all in his power to pacify the former strife, and went over to assist the king of England, then employed in his Scottish wars, in which he succeeded to his wish against John Balliol.

But in the interim William de Roos, prior of Kilmanhaim being left deputy, the Irish rose in many places.—Leighlin and other towns were burned; yet in another quarter O'Hanlon, and Mac Mahon were defeated and slain.

Wogan returning, called a parliament, and endeavoured to settle matters a little better; at which two demands were made from the clergy, one from the king which was denied, and another from the pope, which was granted.

Nevertheless the O'Connors Mac Carthies, O'Dempseys, and all the different parties were soon up in arms again with various successes; and the English were obliged to draw together all their forces from the other provinces for the defence of Leinster.—And in the year one thousand three hundred and seven, Murchad Ballagh was beheaded by Sir David Condon, which latter was executed for the fact two years afterwards.

These proceedings involved the greatest part of the island in war and bloodshed, and in the midst of those disturbances died Edward the First, of a dysentery, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his reign.

Edward the Second, of Caernarvon succeeded his ^{Edward II.} father on the English throne, but though he was heir to his kingdom he never inherited his abilities.—He was weak and pusillanimous, easily led away by false appearances, and a king by no means

means fit to govern a warlike people, such as the English, who soon began to see through and to despise his mean capacity.—His father Edward had given laws to the Scots, and taken prisoner and unworthily put to death William Wallace, the great assertor of their liberties; but, as it seems, from the ashes of this phoenix sprang another more fortunate patriot, Robert Bruce, who was the next heir to the Scottish crown.—The first Edward had with difficulty kept him under, but that was a task too hard for the Second to achieve. He was indeed proclaimed at Carlisle, and afterwards made a procession at the head of his army, (which somewhat resembled a pageant) into Scotland, where he received the homage of the chiefs; but instead of proceeding to operate against his watchful enemy, he returned to England, after this parade, leaving the earl of Pembroke to treat of a pacification, and appointing him guardian of the kingdom. From such a beginning little could be expected, and those who had any hopes from it, found themselves egregiously disappointed.

Sir John Wogan was still continued chief justice after this prince's accession, and received orders to suppress the knights templars, which were as punctually executed in Ireland as they were in England.

The commotions of the Irish still continuing, a body of them assembled under Mac Balthun, had burned the castle of Kenun and the town of Courcowly, which, besides a defeat they gave the lord chief justice, rendered them very formidable; nevertheless, that great officer found means afterwards to disperse them, and to hang up their ringleader.

In his absence (which was occasioned by a journey he undertook to England, to display the wretched state of the county) the insurgents grew bolder

bolder again, burned Athy, and destroyed several other places; and in the midst of their civil broils Odo, the king of Connaught was slain.

But whilst these things were passing in Ireland, the English king was about to furnish them with a chief governor, who would certainly have been the cause of as much good there as he was of evil in England, if he had continued in that appointment.

Edward, contrary to his engagement with his father, having recalled Pierce de Gaveston, now sent him into Ireland, as chief governor, where, notwithstanding he had the dislike of many great men to combat, and arrived, as I have said, in a time of public confusion, yet he quickly began to set matters right, broke the power of the revolt-ers, slew O'Dempsey, and subdued O'Brian king of Thomond, approving himself in every thing a great captain, and a good governor, and was much esteemed and respected by the army for his liberality, and generosity of spirit. But, unhappily for him he left Ireland and went to Flanders, from whence afterwards returning to England, the nobles, who hated him for his greatness, seconded by the people, who detested him because he was a favourite, contrived to take him prisoner at Scarborough castle, and, much against the will of Edward, (as may be imagined) struck off his head as a traitor.

After the departure of Pierce Gaveston Sir John Wogan was again sent to Ireland in the character of chief justice; and in the October following Roger Mortimer came over with his wife, the heiress of Meath, and was put into quiet possession of that country.---Two parliaments, or assemblies of the great men were holden two succeeding years in Ireland, to rectify abuses and examine into acts of violence; and indeed there was occasion enough
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for these; since the English, as well as the Irish, still continued their bickerings and animosities.--- A scarcity of corn, the natural effect of the troubles which raged in the land happening about this time, the bakers suffered for what it is most probable they could not help; and at least could have but a small concern in.---Indeed a plentiful season at such a period would have been much more wonderful than a time of the greatest severity.

The next year was marked by a contest between two bishops, and that which succeeded it by the war between Richard earl of Ulster who invaded Thomond, and Richard de Clare, who opposed him. The latter, proving victorious, took the former and several of his friends prisoners, and defeated a body of Irish in the November following.

Yet the old natives still continued their disagreements among themselves, but the English being, under the same predicament, reaped little advantage from them, while they by means of their parties lurking in the woods near Dublin, very much terrified the inhabitants;---and the lord justice was not in a capacity to drive them away, himself having been defeated by Robert Verdon, who had made an insurrection in Uryle; but the latter, however submitting some time after, the former found an opportunity of making a voyage to England, having deputed Sir Edmund Butler to manage the Irish affairs in his absence.

The new lord justice began to manage things pretty well with the Irish, but no sooner did he begin to perceive that he could give them a check, than he found his attention called off to another matter, which, in the sequel, was likely to have proved of much greater importance; for now the Scots, who had been provoked by the pretensions of

of the English to the disposal of the government of their realm, in order to return the compliment, began to invade Ireland.—However, as they appeared only in small numbers in a few boats, for this time they were repulsed; but the attempt was a prelude to something of a more serious nature.

In the succeeding year Edward Bruce (brother to Robert of Scotland) took the castle of Man, and made Lord O'Donel prisoner, but retired to collect a larger army, in proportion as his views of conquest extended. Sir Edmund Butler the deputy, being recalled to England, Sir Theobald de Verdeen was made lord justice, and before the return of Butler the grand scheme for invading the country was settled by the Scottish prince.

Before this took place the famous battle of Bannockbourn had been fought, in which king Edward, who commanded in person, had received a signal overthrow from Robert Bruce, and with the greatest difficulty escaped being slain or taken, being forced to fly for his life, leaving twenty thousand of his followers dead upon the field of battle.—In a word, all things conspired to excite the hatred of the Scotch against the English nation, and the Irish on their part having some real and many more imaginary causes of complaint, according to the accounts handed down to us, were ready to submit to any foreign power that would promise them deliverance from their conquerors. It must be owned that there was one grievance which had all the appearance of a real one, and that was, the denying the Irish the benefit of the English laws, which they often solicited; and the imposing upon them certain restraints under which they could not but be very uneasy:—among these the following were enumerated: That no Irishwoman married to an Englishman could have her

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dower; no Irishman could sue in the king's court, or make a will to dispose of his effects; and even if an Irishman were murdered by an Englishman, the assassin escaped prosecution.—They complained that these evils still remained, notwithstanding the express declaration of some of the kings, that Ireland should be governed by English laws; these laws in general extending only to the Pale, and consequently being of real benefit to none but the new settlers.—On the other hand, the English alleged that the Irish were always ready enough to claim the protection of the laws, but were unwilling to submit to their censure; for which reason it was not judged expedient to admit them to such benefit otherwise than by a family or sept at a time, who were thus separated, to be received into the Pale, on repeating their oaths of allegiance, and giving security to be alienable to those laws by which they petitioned to be governed.—Thus stood the dispute; but in the mean time the people groaning under a weight of miseries, without considering that they owed much of it to their own ill conduct, professed themselves ready to list under the banners of any but Englishmen.

A. D.
1315.

While mens minds were in this disposition, Sir Edmund Butler, the lord justice, returned from England; and Edward Bruce, brother to Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, landed near Carrickfergus with about six thousand men. These were quickly joined by the Irish, and with their help he took and burned Dundalk, ravaged the country of Urygle, and began every where to expel the English. The lord justice, raising a body of men, committed the command of them to the earl of Ulster; but Bruce immediately engaged and defeated them at Colerain; after which he took Carrickfergus, and drove the English inhabitants out of the province.

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In the month of November following Roger Mortimer marched at the head of another English army against the Scotch, and came up with them at Kenlis in Meath, where he gave them battle, but he received a great overthrow from them.— Bruce then burned Kenlis, and proceeded on his march through the country; but was met at Skerries by the lord chief justice with a considerable body of troops, whom he also encountered and defeated; and the consequence of these repeated victories of the Scots was, that the Irish almost every where rose up against the English government; nevertheless they received many checks where they were unsupported by their new allies.—

After the last defeat a general assembly was held at Dublin, in order to reconcile some differences between the leading men, and to consider on methods for carrying on the war which had begun so unluckily.— It is observed by foreigners, that it is a maxim with the English, “That their forces can never be defeated unless by treachery.”— And the consequence of this maxim is, that they presently begin to look out for the traitor.— Hence it is that we find an historian who writes of this period in one place positively, telling us, “That the English were routed with great slaughter (at Kenlis) by the treachery of the Lacies;” and in another, which almost immediately follows, that they were acquitted of such imputed treachery by the parliament mentioned above. Whatever such partiality may be in a warrior or in a patriot, it is surely inexcusable in a writer of history.— By the same authority we are told, that Bruce, withdrawing to his quarters sat down there in as much quietness as if it had been in time of profound peace; holding courts of justice, and attending to the administration of civil affairs; yet soon after we find this prince and his followers stigmatized as the most

eruel monsters that nature ever produced.—On the whole it does not appear that they were more barbarous than other invaders, and I believe an incursion of this kind, unattended with the horror of fire and sword, was at that time a thing unparalleled in history.

Edward having sent for succours from Scotland, when these arrived, caused himself to be crowned king of Ireland at Dundalk, after which he again proceeded in his conquests, finding very few in those parts that were able and willing to oppose him.

The lord justice having drawn together such forces as he could, was all this time busied in reducing the Irish in his neighbourhood and in Connaught, in which he met with better success than he had in his engagement with Bruce; he was then created earl of Carrick; and the Burks and Geraldines thought proper for a while to lay aside their animosities, and unite in the defence of the English government in Ireland, which was now shaken to its very basis; and had it not been for the rashness of Edward Bruce, would shortly have been totally overthrown.

At this time indeed he was cautious enough; for failing in his attempt on Dublin, the English having gathered together an army consisting of thirty thousand men, under Roger Mortimer, then chief justice, and finding provisions scarce, he retreated towards Ulster, where the ensuing famine, which was most severe, detained him.—But in the mean time his brother landing with fresh forces, he looked upon the conquest of the island as completed; yet he soon found himself deceived; for the same cause which kept him in Ulster obliged Robert to quit the country.

It is said, that at this time the pope, by his bull, commanded the English and Scots to conclude a
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truce for two years, but that the latter would not consent to it, as (considering the scarcity which then prevailed) their army would soon consume all the provisions that could be found in their quarters, and must necessarily have recourse to plunder for subsistence; for which reason alone, if they had had no other, a state of war was to them more eligible than that of peace.

However that might be, it was probable such a necessity led Edward Bruce at length to quit his post, and trust his fate at a time, when his brother was once more coming to his assistance, and absolutely sent him advice not to fight till they should be able to effect a junction.

Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, was then lord justice.—He sent lord John Birmingham with an army against the invaders; Edward met them near Dundalk, and being imprudent enough to hazard a battle, was totally defeated, and himself slain in the engagement, all his followers being cut in pieces by the English.—Robert was already landed again in Ireland; but as soon as he heard of this disaster, he laid aside all thoughts of conquest there, and with a heavy heart re-embarked for his own country.

Thus were the Irish disappointed in their most sanguine hopes, once more now almost every where brought under. Among the rest of the successes, the English settlers in Leinster and Meath gave the O'Connors a great defeat at Balibogan.—And in the same year died the late lord justice, who had been made earl of Carrick.

John Birmingham, earl of Louth, succeeded him in that office, and in the fifteenth year of king Edward the Second, he received his majesty's orders to meet him with a body of troops at Carlisle, with which he complied, though the English suffered a defeat about that time, which he might well have

pleaded in excuse for a refusal, if he had been so inclined.—At his departure, he left Ralph de Gorges as deputy to fill his place, who was soon after superseded by Sir John Darcey, in whose time some good ordinances were published by the king in council, tending to a regulation of the civil state of Ireland.

But in the year thirteen hundred and twenty-seven, the face of affairs was changed in England.—The weakness of the second Edward and his inclination to favouritism had not only prevented his enjoying the affection of his people, —princes have reigned long, and died in peace without that—but it had done worse for him, it had excited their contempt. From the favourite they proceeded to turn their opposition against the master.—Yet it is probable they would never have carried matters to such a length as they did, if they had not been countenanced by his wicked adulterous queen, Isabel, a French princess, who was accessory to the deposition and death of her husband, for which her name will be infamous to latest posterity.—After having been deserted by almost all his subjects, and obliged to resign his crown to his son, this unfortunate monarch was confined in Kennelworth and then in Berkeley castle. In the latter he soon exhibited a proof of the maxim, “that deposed princes seldom live long.” Those who had him in custody tried every method that cruelty could invent to ruin his health and so make him die apparently, a natural death; but a good constitution, joined to a resignation to his fate (which however was rather the effect of indolence than fortitude) baffled all their schemes.—Whereupon, being impatient to get rid of him, they most barbarously murdered him in the night, by thrusting a hot iron up his body, which whilst it put him to inexpressible torture, left no external

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nal marks of violence ; so that they ventured to expose the corpse to public inspection ; nevertheless the groans of the unhappy victim had been heard by many people, even at a considerable distance from the spot, and on weighing every circumstance there remained little reason to doubt of the barbarity the assassins had practised upon their royal prisoner, yet were they not called to an account for the fact, being too well supported to fear any ill consequences from committing it.

Thus fell Edward the Second, who though not one of the most wicked was perhaps one of the weakest princes that ever sat upon the English throne. And to him succeeded his eldest son Edward the Third, who at that time was entirely under the direction of his ambitious mother.

He was proclaimed king in January, and crowned the first day of February, in the same year, and as he was but fifteen years old, had twelve governors appointed for him and the kingdom, yet, in effect, none shared in the management of either with his mother, except Mortimer earl of March, who was now the only favourite at court, being to the queen in that regard what Pierce de Gaveston had been to her husband.

A. D.
1327.
Edward III.

By this administration Thomas Fitz John, earl of Kildare, was made lord justice, and circular letters were sent to the great men of Ireland, inviting them all by name to swear fealty to the new king as they had done to his predecessors ; and he was acknowledged in the same manner ; nevertheless the English subjects in Ireland were as far as ever from considering that it was their duty and their interest likewise to be united.—Maurice Fitz Thomas, afterwards earl of Desmond, taking offence at some slighting words uttered by the lord Arnold Poer, he and his friends denounced war against the aggressor, who, on his

part called in the assistance of the Poers.—The consequence was, that the latter having the worst of it, their lands were ravaged and destroyed, many of them fell by the sword, and the remainder were obliged to fly for refuge into Connaught.—In vain did the lord justice summon both parties before him, that they might each have an impartial hearing:—the lord Poer refused to come, and instead of minding the summons, took the first opportunity that offered, and embarking for England. The confederate army in the mean time was greatly increased, and finding that their grand enemy was fled, they now set themselves to plundering the lands of their adversaries. But at length they were grown so formidable, that those who inhabited the cities and fortified towns began to arm and stand upon their guard against them. This when the confederates perceived, fearing matters might be carried farther than they had intended, they immediately dispatched messengers to let the lord justice know, that they had not the least intention of prejudicing the king's towns, but had only taken up arms against the Poers their enemies, and that they were ready to appear and justify themselves before him at Kilkenny.—And accordingly they presented themselves as they had promised, requesting a charter of pardon; but received for answer, that the lord justice would take time to consider of the affair.

The Irish inhabitants of the province of Leinster observing with pleasure these dissensions which reigned amongst their neighbours, took what they imagined a favourable opportunity of setting up a prince of their own. They accordingly did so, fixing their choice on Donald Mac Art Mac Morrough, of the family of the Mac Morroughs, formerly princes of Leinster, whom they now proclaimed

claimed king of the province, and under whom a large body of them marched towards Dublin, but were defeated within two miles of that capital by Sir Henry Traherne and Walter de Valle, who took Donald Mac Art Mac Morrough prisoner, and had him confined in the castle of Dublin; but the Irish chief escaped from thence by means of a cord, which cost the man his life that furnished him with it.

The lord justice dying about this time at his castle of Minooth, Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmanhaim, lord chancellor succeeded him. About this time James Butler, son of Edmund Butler, earl of Carrick married the earl of Hereford's daughter, and the lord Arnold Poer and William Burk returning into Ireland, a parliament was called at Dublin, in order to bring about a reconciliation between them and the Butlers and Berminghams, the ground-work of which had been previously laid at a parliament holden at Northampton, and which desirable work was here completed;—on this occasion there was much feasting, though it happened in the season of Lent.

At the same time a matter of an extraordinary nature was canvassed.—For the bishop of Ossory accused the lord justice himself of heresy, in that he had espoused the cause of, or aided and abetted one Sir Arnold Poer, who stood convicted of heresy before him; but the chief governor proving that the charge was unfair, and that the bishop had been partial to a kinsman of his own in the matter, was acquitted, after a solemn purgation; yet the accused heretic perished in prison, and his body was denied the rites of burial for a long time because he died unpurged of the heresy laid to his charge.—

Sir John Darcey being appointed lord justice, Macoghegan of Meath, and others of the Irish in Lein-

Leinster, and O'Brian of Thomond and his associates in Munster took up arms, the former of whom defeated and slew lord Thomas Butler, near Molingar, whilst O'Brian ravaged all the country, and burned the towns of Atheffel and Tipperary, overawing the people, and carrying all before him.—At length the insurgents were encountered by the people of Wexford, who killed about four hundred of them, and put the rest to flight. Afterwards the lord justice assisted by the earl of Ormond, obliged the O'Birnes and others to submit; yet he plainly saw that this was no time for him to sit down contented, and he provided accordingly.

In the mean while, it had not been in that magistrate's power to prevent the English from quarrelling, for the earl of Louth and many of the Birminghams, Talbot of Malahide, and a hundred and sixty other Englishmen were murdered by the treachery of the Savages and the Gernons, and the Barries and Roches of Munster did the same by James Fitz Robert Keating, lord Philip Hodnet, Hugh Condon, and an hundred and forty others. One would almost have thought the air of Ireland had bred quarrels, to hear of their proceedings on all hands. The lord justice being thus every way weakened, called in the aid of Maurice, who was afterwards earl of Desmond, offering him the king's pay if he would take the field against the rebels. Accordingly he accepted the invitation, and routed the Orolans, the Morroughs and many other of the Irish tribes.—At this time the lord justice finding himself much embarrassed to keep on foot so great an army as he had then occasion for, was forced to suffer the Irish custom of Coigne and Livery, which had formerly been exercised by the natives when the

the island was entirely in their hands, but which certainly ought to be considered as a great oppression.

The Irish now again petitioned the king of England for a general liberty to use the English laws, the consequence of which was, that his majesty sent instructions to the lord justice to consult the parliament in Ireland, and to let him know their opinion of that petition.

In the year thirteen hundred and thirty Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham was again made lord deputy, who suppressed the Macoghegans that now began to recover from their former losses. He also held a parliament at Kilkenny, at which appeared Alexander archbishop of Dublin, the earls of Ulster and Ormond, lord William Birmingham, and lord Walter Burk, all of whom brought bodies of forces with them, which were intended to be employed against O'Brian who then lay at Urkiff near Cashell; but though these assembled soldiers made a great shew, they performed nothing; for, marching to Limerick the Burks made depredations upon some of the lands belonging to the Giraldines, which occasioned such disputes that the earl of Ulster and Maurice of Desmond both repaired to England, which probably occasioned the army to suspend its operations---The next year, however, was spent in skirmishes which in the end proved rather favourable to the English, the lord Birmingham doing them great service against the revolters.

In the interim, a kind of revolution had happened in England which took the king out of the hands of his governors and made him his own master.—If the English would not bear with Pierce de Gaveston, they were not more inclined to submit to the arbitrary proceedings of Mortimer earl of March, whom some of the great men at court ventured to represent to the king as a wicked and arbitrary minister; but it was not till they found that prince ripening

ing into manhood, himself disapproved his conduct, and longed to be a real as well as a nominal monarch, a thing which it was easy to perceive could never be brought about otherwise than by this favourite's destruction. Edward was bold and ambitious—A youth of such a temper there needed but little spur to stimulate to the claim of that royalty which was his by birth, and to which he was called by the voice of the people. He therefore contrived to seize Mortimer at Nottingham, where he was to meet the parliament, and for that purpose began to lay a plan for securing the castle of that city; but Mortimer and the queen were before-hand with him, for they went thither with all their retinue, and took immediate possession of the place; nevertheless the young king still continuing steady to his purpose resolved to seize the favourite in the castle. For this purpose he founded the governor, to try whether he would not give him admission—But that officer told him that the castle was locked every night, that the locks were altered, and that the queen had the only keys that would open them carried up every night to her apartment; but he pointed out a subterraneous passage by which he could conduct any one into the castle, and even to the very chamber of Mortimer. The king approved the scheme and with the lords Montacute, Molins, Ufford, and other nobles and gentlemen, contrived to enter by that way. — These having quitted the town in the evening, returned about midnight, and were conducted through this cavern to the chief tower of the fortress, and from thence to Mortimer's apartment, where they took him prisoner, notwithstanding the queen's intreaties, who arose from her bed and rushed from the next apartment where she lay, to save him.—This bad minister being committed prisoner to the tower of London was afterwards accused of various crimes amounting to high treason

treason, for which he was condemned to suffer as a traitor and his body hung two days on a common gibbet, a woful spectacle to beholders!—But to return to those affairs which more immediately concern Ireland.—

Sir Anshony Lucy being sent over lord chief justice A. D. brought with him Hugh de Lacey, who was now ¹³³¹ pardoned and received into favour.

In his administration a parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin, which was adjourned to Kilkenny, where it was accordingly assembled; and thither the earl of Kildare and others who had been concerned in levying soldiers against their neighbours and countrymen came, and received their pardon, on condition of renewing their allegiance and swearing to keep the king's peace for the future.

And in the beginning of March this year the king and parliament of England framed certain articles for the tranquility of Ireland, which they sent thither directly.*

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* The substance of these articles was as follows:

Rex justic. Canc. & Thef. suis Hibern. salutem.—Mandamus vobis, quod articulos superscriptos, quos pro emendatio status, Terræ nostræ Hiberniæ quiete & tranquillitate populi nostri ibidem, per advisamentum concilii nostri in ultimo parlamento nostro apud Westmon. testis ordinavimus in dicta terra Hibernia quantum ad vos attinet, teneatis & observatio & per alios fideles nostros dictæ terræ, teneri & observari faciatis: tenor autem articulorum prædictorum talis est.

Imprimis. Justiciarius qui nunc est, vel pro tempore fuerit, non concedat chartas pardonatis de morte hominis, nec Roberiis & incendiis, nisi de Roberiis & incendiis ante festum Paschæ, anno regni domini Edwardi regis Angliæ tertii post conquestum quinto perpetratis: Et

quod de cætero certificet regem de nominibus hujusmodi pardonationes, potentium & de advisamento suo & quod rex faciat inde voluntatem suam, & quod nullus in terra Hiberniæ ex nunc faciat tales pardonationes infra libertatem & extra, sub gravi forisfactura domini regis.

Item. Quod dictus justic. de cætero non concedat tuitionem pacis felonibus ad silvam existentibus.

Item. Quod una & eadem lex fiat tam Hiberniæ quam Angliæ, excepta sercepta servitute batagiorum penes dominos suos eodem modo quo usitatum est in Anglia de villano.

Item. Quod justic. nec aliquis miles de cætero det alicui custodiam vel maritagium alicujus hæredis ad regem pertinentis nec pardonet debita regis sua fines, amerciamenta vel catalla foris nec pardonet debita regis seu fines, amerciamenta vel catalla a forisfactis, sed quod justiciarii

As the parliament had been very thin, the lord lieutenant hearing that the Irish being up in arms had burned the castle of Fernes, entertained a sus-

justiciarii & alii ministri hujusmodi custodios & maritagia vendant & commodum regis inde fac juxta discretionis suos.

Item. Quod vic. & coronatores de cetero ligantur per communitatis comit. & non alio modo, & quod calla forisfacta remaneant in custodia villar.

Item. Quod justic. seu aliquis alius minister, non recipiet aliquem magnatem in pleg. vel manucaptor. versus sub dominum regem, nisi quatenus pro commodo regis viderint faciendum.

Item. Quod justic. obfides pro conservatione pacis, sive liberates in carceris domini regis fac. salvo custodire, ad sumptus suos proprios, & quod si ipsi qui posuerunt hujusmodi obfides, conditiones, & conventiones quas fecerunt non observent, justic. faciunt judicium de hujusmodi obfidibus.

Item. Quod justic. seu aliquis magnus Hibern. non concedat protectiones alicui contra pacem regis existant.

Item. Quod nullus minister regis de cetero recipiatur in pleg. vel manucaptionem versus dominum regem.

Item. Quod fines de vacco de cetero pro redemptione non capiantur, sed denarii.

Item. Quod treuga capta & capienda inter Anglicos & Hibernicos de cetero observetur, & quot neutra pars damnum alteri durante hujusmodi treuga inferat, & si fecerit pro se lone habeatur.

Item. Quod nullus utlagatus in gildibili receptatur infra libertates nec e' converso; & inde fiat ordinanti, justica, & alios ministros & dominos, libertatum.

Item. Quod vic. et alii ministri computent quolibet anno semel ad minus si commodum fieri poterit.

Item. Quod Senescalus alicujus domini in Hibern. non ponatur in aliquo officio regis.

Item. Quod Thef. vel alius mi-

nister regis ubi ipse intendere non potest supervideat quolibet anno castra regis & statum eorundem & quod emendare fac. defectus eorundem.

Item. Quod vic. in turris quos faciunt de brevibus domini regis ponant nomina sua ita quod quilibet vic. de exitibus forisfacturis & aliis proficiis que requiruntur sub nomine vic. oneretur ad Scae. pro tempore suo proprio.

Item. Quod extrangi non assignentur ad eas colligendas, & hoc fiat de potentioribus discretioribus.

Item. Quod justic. fac inquirere quolibet anno de ministris domini regis, et eorum factio, & quod puniat delinquentes per concilium, & advisamentum cano. & thes. & aliorum de concilio regis et amo eas insufficientes.

Item. Quod nullus manuteneat nec ducat, & kernes nec gentes vocati *idle men* nisi in marches suis propriis, & ad custus eorandem, nec faciat prizas.

Item. Quod omnes ministri regis qui tenentia ad computandum & non habeant terras seu tenementa sufficientia in Hibernia, inveniant manucaptionem in Hibern. ad respondendum regi de compotis suis ibidem.

Item. Quod habentes terras & tenementa in Hibernia tam religiosi quam alii prænuntiantur quod resideant in eisdem si sint in Marchis, vel alibi, vel ponent sufficientem custodiam pro conservatione pacis in eisdem citra fest. S. Petri ad Vincula prox futur. & si non fecerint quod rex in eorum descensu terras & tenementa illa in manum suam capiat, & de sufficiente custodia eorundem ordinabit.

Item. Quod nullus cujusunque status seu conditionis manuteneat, foveat nec defendat Hibernicos, sem alium quemcunque contra pacem domini regis insurgentem; & si aliquis sic fecerit, & inde convictus fuerit, pro felone habeatur. &c.

suspicion that some of the absent lords were leagued with the enemy, and this suspicion occasioned him who was naturally of a very stern and severe disposition to give orders for the arresting of several persons, among whom were Walter Burk, and his brother Maurice Desmond, Henry Mandevil, and lord William and Walter Birmingham. Lord William was afterwards executed (notwithstanding all his former services) as a traitor to the English government; but Walter escaped on account of his being in holy orders.—And as for Maurice Desmond, after having been a year in prison, he was discharged upon bail at the end of that term, and sent over into England.

But notwithstanding these executions, and all the care taken by the lord justice, the Irish in the following summer rased the castle of Bonratty to the ground; while the hostages that were kept at Limerick and Nenagh, seized on both those castles; however they were expelled by the English who put those of Limerick to death, and those who were concerned in the affair of Nenagh were kept in close confinement.

Many more skirmishes now happened as usual between the English and Irish; but amongst all these troubles one of the most vexatious matters to the former was that William Burk, earl of Ulster having been murdered by his own servants, his wife and daughter being gone over to England, where the latter was married to the duke of Clarence,—two of the Burks seized on the greatest part of the estate, and divided it between them; and then, more effectually to support their usurpation, they went over to the ancient Irish for whose customs and language they exchanged their own; not even retaining their names, but varying them according to the genius of that people. Nevertheless some of the country people revenged the murder

murder of the earl, but that did not make amends for the other's desertion.

Before this time it was resolved in England, that the king should pass over to Ireland in person; and all who had effects in that country, being absent, received orders to repair thither;—but when this was determined upon, the season of the year did not suit such a voyage; and now the Scotch had cut him out so much work, that he could not think of making the excursion, nor even of sending thither a considerable supply of men.—Nevertheless I find it recorded that the English overthrew the Irish in Connaught with so great slaughter, that the latter had ten thousand slain, while the former lost but one man; but we are not furnished with the particulars of this great engagement;—indeed it would be wonderful if we should.—The reader has already heard many strange things relative to the numbers of the Irish slain in battle by a mere handful of English.—Doubtless for the reasons which I have already assigned, many of these relations regarding the first settlers were true—But the affair before us is too barefaced an imposition ever to be received by the candid and judicious. The time is too ill judged, and the disproportion too great, to bear a vraisemblance. The Irish had by this time made some improvements in the manner of their attacks, and were rather better acquainted with those who came to oppose them than formerly they had been; and consequently though still inferior, there could not be so wide a difference between them; but ten thousand is as easy to say as ten hundred, and while men love to *read* extraordinary tales there will never be wanting those who love to *write* them. It is likely however that the Irish received a great check in Connaught at this time and were routed and dispersed by their adversaries.

Sir

Sir John Chatham was the next lord justice, who arrived in Ireland in the year thirteen hundred and thirty-seven, bringing with him his brother Sir Thomas bishop of Hereford, lord chancellor Rice lord treasurer, and two hundred Welch soldiers. This chief magistrate called a parliament to which the archbishop of Ardmagh intended to come; but when great preparations had been made for that purpose, the archbishop of Dublin would not suffer him to advance his cross in that diocese, till the king himself sent his writ, absolutely commanding that the primate should not be molested.—A very hard winter closed this year, and the next there was a great rising of the Irish; but the earl of Desmond slew about five hundred men in Munster, and took captive Nicholas Fitz Morris, the lord of Kerry, whom he kept prisoner all his life, because he had revolted and joined the native Irish.—The earl of Kildare also met with success in other parts, and the old custom of murdering and plundering began to go briskly forward again on all hands, to which it is likely the Irish were the more induced on account of the severe weather mentioned above.

The present lord justice going over to England, constituted Roger Outlaw in his room, who dying, John lord Darcey was made chief magistrate for life; but yet he did not go over into Ireland himself, but rested contented with sending over Sir John Morris, who thinking himself despised by the great men of his own nation in Ireland, a plan was set on foot to make a resumption of all lands, signiories, &c. granted by king Edward the Third or his father to his subjects inhabiting the country. All such lands were commanded to be seized *till the merits of*

the persons, and causes and conditions of the gifts should be redeemed.

This was as rash and ill-timed a measure as ever was resolved on, if all circumstances had been duly weighed in such an unsettled state as that of Ireland; and though some of the grants in themselves might have been at first imprudent enough; yet, considering the rights of possession, and the power and consequence of the men who claimed upon them, it was but endeavouring to amend one error by another, and the last bade fair to be the greater, for all the ancient settlers were at once offended; and even when a parliament was called to meet at Dublin, the chief intent of which was to conciliate matters a little, the earl of Desmond and many other leading men absolutely refused to attend, and consulting with other malecontents, convened an assembly of their own at Kilkenny, who ventured to send messengers to the king himself with their complaints, which they reduced to these three queries:

1. How a realm of war could be governed by a man unskilful in warlike service?
2. How an officer under the king, that entered very poor, could, in one year, heap up more wealth than men of great estates in many years?
3. How it chanced, since they were all called lords of their own, that the sovereign lord of them all was never the richer for them?

However these complaints might stand as to the letter of them, we find that the king well enough understood the spirit that animated them was a detestation of the resumption; but without letting the remonstrants know that he bestowed a thought upon that matter, he tried by all other possible means, by turning out the officers who were most obnoxious, and certifying the number of

of others, with many like orders to reform the government, yet he was very unwilling to restore the lands seized by virtue of his writ.

But by degrees this also was brought to bear; though for the present he only sent powers to the lord justice and the lord chancellor to enquire into the particulars of the resumption, and to render John Darcy senior his part of them again.—But when all this at last would not do, some years afterwards, viz. in the twenty-sixth of this king's reign a general restitution was made which alone could quiet the minds of the people.

But at the period we are speaking of a list of grievances was sent over to the king by John Larch, prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and Mr. Thomas Wogan, by the prelates, earls, barons, and commons of Ireland;—and soon after the lord justice was removed and Sir Ralph Ufford was sent thither, who, however, was equally hated by the old English settlers, and the native Irish. In June, thirteen hundred and forty-five, a parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin, but the earl of Desmond again refused to come, and himself fixed a time for another assembly at Calan, but those whom he invited thither being prohibited from appearing there by the king's writ, disappointed him.—And besides this, the lord justice set up the royal standard in Munster, and seized upon his lands; on which he surrendered, being bailed by the earl of Ulster, and twenty-four knights; but fearing to make his appearance, the recognizances were forfeited, and many of the knights concerned in bailing him were ruined by his defection.—The earl of Kildare was likewise apprehended; but was admitted to bail by the succeeding lord justice; for in April the next year, this ill beloved magistrate died, to the great joy of the people of Ireland,

and his widow was obliged to steal away as privately as possible for fear of being insulted by the populace.

Sir Roger Darcy, Sir John Morris, and Sir Walter Birmingham succeeded each other afterwards as lords justices, the latter of whom procured leave for the accused earl of Desmond to go over and plead his cause in England.—And this lord justice with the assistance of the earl of Kildare, reduced the O'Mores then in arms; the earl afterwards passing over the seas to serve the king in his French wars, in gratitude for the indulgence that was shewn to his cousin Desmond.—And this year was fought the battle of Cressy, so famous in history, which was won by Edward the Third, against the king of France.

A. D.
1347.

The lord justice going over to England left John Archer, prior of Kilmanhaim his lord deputy, in whose time the Irish prince of Leinster was murdered by his own followers. The natives likewise burned Nenaght on St. Stephen's day this year.

In the year thirteen hundred and forty-eight Sir Walter Birmingham returned again to his office, after having obtained for himself the barony of Kenlis in Upper Ossory, and things were tolerably quiet in Ireland.—To Sir Walter succeeded the lord Carew, Sir Thomas Rokeby, and occasionally Maurice de Rochford his deputy; and after these Maurice Fitz Gerald earl of Desmond, who notwithstanding the accusations laid against him was restored to favour, and thought deserving of the high office of lord justice which he filled with equal equity and moderation.

After him Sir Thomas Rokeby was again appointed chief magistrate, in whose time king Edward made many wise regulations relative both to the civil and ecclesiastical state of Ireland, authorising

rising him (with the advice of the chancellor and treasurer) to pardon all manner of crimes and misdemeanors, treason only excepted.—The next year was fought the battle of Poitiers, in which Edward prince of Wales took king John of France prisoner, and conveyed him to London.

James, earl of Ormond, was the next lord justice, and in his absence Maurice Fitz-Gerald was appointed deputy.—About this time the king had some thoughts of sending over the prince his son into Ireland.—Next came Lionel duke of Clarence as lord justice, bringing with him an army of fifteen hundred men.—At first this governor carried things with a high hand, making proclamation that none of the old English should approach his camp; but, marching against O'Brian he was soon put to such straits that he was obliged to call in their assistance before he could subdue that chieftain, which however was at length by that means effected.

James Butler, earl of Ormond was left lord deputy, when the duke of Clarence went over to England for the first time.—Then the duke returned, made but a short stay, and going over again, appointed Sir Thomas Dale to fill that office.—And lastly, the duke returned once more, and held a full parliament at Kilkenny, where many bishops being present, denounced excommunication against such as should transgress a famous statute then enacted, the principal heads of which were these that follow:—"That the Brehon law was an evil custom, and that it should be treason to use it. That marrying, and nursing, and gossiping with the Irish should be treason.—That the use of Irish name, apparel, or language should be punished with the loss of lands or imprisonment, unless the party should give security to conform. That the English should not make

war upon the Irish without order of the states. That the English should not permit the Irish to graze upon their land, nor present an Irishman (*though at that time both churches were the same in effect*) to an ecclesiastical benefice, nor receive them into monasteries or religious houses; nor entertain any of their minstrels, rhymers, or newstellers; nor cels horse nor foot upon the English subject against his will, on pain of felony. And that sheriffs might enter any liberty or franchise to apprehend felons or traitors. And that four wardens of the peace should be appointed in every county, to assess every man's proportion of the public charge for men and armour."—

However, we are told that this statute little affected the Irish, living out of the pale, who still retained their own manners and customs; "But yet this statute enforced by the presence of the king's son (says my author) and the discipline he used, very much reformed the degenerate English; so that the revenues of Ulster and Connaught were thenceforward accounted for in the exchequer, and the king's writ ran in both these provinces, and therefore this statute was revived in the reign of Henry the Seventh."

Gerald Fitz Maurice, earl of Desmond, was again chief justice, but was superseded by Sir William de Windsor. Having wars as usual with the natives, the English in his time were overthrown by O'Brian in Limerick, the earl of Desmond slain, and John Fitz Nicholas, lord of Fenny, lord Thomas Fitz John, and many others taken captives.

After this the lord justice marched to the defence of Munster, where he obliged John Macnamara, a great chieftain among the Irish, to come into terms of treaty with him, and to give hostages

tages for the performance of several articles highly advantageous to the English in those parts.

Being sent for to England, this gentleman left Maurice earl of Kildare, custos of Ireland, who continued to govern till the arrival of Sir Robert Ashton. About this time the famous cause of Sir Richard Pembridge was determined; He being warden of the Cinque Ports, when commanded to go over to Ireland as lord deputy to Ireland, refused to obey the mandate.—And it appeared that he was countenanced in so doing by the laws of the realm, as such a voyage was deemed only an honourable exile, and no man can be compelled (except for felony and in such like cases) to abjure his country.

In consequence of this determination Sir William Windsor came again, who obtained an order, That all men possessing lands in Ireland should repair thither or send sufficient men in their room, in order to defend the country; but notwithstanding this and several other useful institutions, and all his endeavours to subdue the Irish, he found that all of them (owing to former bad policy) proved ineffectual; and therefore he resigned to James earl of Ormond.—At this time the cities and boroughs of Ireland sent over commissioners to the king to advise about the affairs of that country.

—This magistrate was authorised to displace any officer (those made by patent under the great seal only excepted) and also had power granted him to pardon all offences in general or to particular persons; but this power was explained not to extend to any prelate or earl that was punishable by loss of life, member, or goods.

At this time died at Shene, Edward the Third, one of the most famous princes that ever filled the English throne, in the sixty-fourth year of his

A. D.
1327.

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age,

age, and of his reign the fifty-first. Edward^s called the Black Prince dying before his father^s his only son, grandson of Edward the Third, claimed the crown, under the name and title of Richard the Second.

[It is here to be noticed that as the old inhabitants of Ireland, during the reigns of Edward the Second and Edward the Third, had often entreated to be admitted to the general protection of the English laws, which was in effect as often refused them, so I find it asserted that they made frequent complaints abroad, in France, in Scotland, and lastly to the pope himself, who at that time bore great sway, concerning the oppression which they conceived that they laboured under in this particular.—The paper drawn up by O'Neal titular king of Ulster on this occasion, being something remarkable, I have transcribed it in the note below * for the entertainment of the curious

* “ Sanctissime in Christo patri domino Johanni, de gratia, summo pontifici, sui devoti filii, Donaldus O'Neil, rex Ultoniæ, ac totius Hiberniæ, hereditario jure verus heres, necnon & ejusdem terræ reguli & magnatis ac populus Hiberniacus, cum sui recommendatione humili, devota pedum oscula bonorum, (beatorum.) &c.

Ex mordaci & viperea Anglorum detractiōe, & iniqua minusque vera suggestiōe contra nos, nostri jurisque defensores, vester quod ab sit, animus aliquatenus concitetur, & res incognita atque ficta ipsum accendere debeat, ad vindictam aliquam tamquam veritate plena, de ortu nostro & statu, si tamen status dici debeat, ac etiam de injuriis crudelibus, nobis nostrisque progenitoribus per nonnullus regis Angliæ; eorumque ministros iniquos, & barones Anglicos in Hibernia natos. Inhumaniter illatis

& continuatis adhuc, in insinuatione presentium ingenti cum clamore scilicet vestris auribus intimamus, ut ex hoc valeatis discendere & videre, cujus partis clamorem veritas comitetur. Qua diligenter & sufficienter instructa, secundam quod rei poposcerit qualitas, judicii vestri districtis partis culpam feriat seu corrigat delinquentis.— Noverit igitur sanctissima paternitas vestra quod a tempore, quo, antiqui patres nostri scilicet tres filii Milesii, alias Micellii, Hispani, cum triginta navium classe a Cantabria, civitate Hispaniæ, in ripa Hiberi fluminis site, unde denominationem accipimus quam habemus, in Iberniam; tunc omni carentem incolæ, divinitas devenerant, tres mille quingenti & amplius fluxerant anni, & ex ipsis, sine admixtione sanguinis alieni, totius Hiberniæ ceperrunt monarchiam regis centum triginto sex usque Logarium regum, a quo

curious reader, whereby he may the better understand the scope of their complaints, and judge the propriety of them accordingly.]

Richard

a quo ego Donaldus prædictus in linea recte carnalem traxi originem, & in cuius diebus Sanctus Patricius, præcipuus apostolus noster & patronus, à Celestino, prædecessore vestro, spiritu sancto inspirante, ad nos dominica incarnationis CCCC. XXXV. anno patres nostros efficacissime docuit catholica fidei veritatem. Et post prædicationem & fidei susceptionem, sub humili Romanæ ecclesiæ obedientia, regis de eodem sanguine, sine interpositione sanguinis alieni, in fide Christi excellenter adopti, ac charitatis operibus pleni, nullum in temporalibus recognoscentes superiorem, reges sexaginta unus usque ad millesimam CLXX. annum domini ibidem coptinue regnaverunt. Et hi sunt non Anglici nec alterius nationis aliqui, qui ecclesiam Hiberniæ terris, largis possessionibus, ac pluribus libertatibus excellenter dotaverunt, licet modernis temporibus per Anglicos illis ut plurimum terris & libertatibus damnabiliter sit privata. Et cum tanto tempore dicti reges, contra diversarum regionum tyrannos & reges concessam a Deo sibi, hereditatem propriis veribus strenue defendissent innatam libertatem semper tenentes illam tandem Adrianus papa, prædecessor vester non tantem origine, quantum affectiona & conditione, Anglicus, anno domini M. C. LXX. ad salutem & plenam iniquitate, suggestionem Henrici, regis Angliæ, quo, & fortassis per quem, sanctus Thomas Cantuariæ eodem anno, pro iustitia & defensione ecclesiæ, mortem sustinuit, sicut scitus, dominium regni nostri, sub quadam certa verborum forma, eidem quem potius, ob dictam culpam, proprio debuit privasse regno defacto contulit indebite, ordine juris omisso omnino, Anglicana affectione, proh! dolor! execranti tanti pontificis tuitionem sique privans honore regio, nostri absque culpa, & sine

rationabili causa, crudelioribus omnium bestiarum dentibus tradidit lacerandos, Et qui ex nobis dolosorum vulpium & gulosorum luporum excoriante dentes mortiferos fetiociter semivivi evaserant in dolorosæ servitutis violenter descenderunt abissum. Ab illo enim tempore, que Anglici, occasione collationis prædictæ, sub quadam exteriori sanctitatis ac religionis specie, regni nostri fines nequiter intrant, totis viribus omnique perfidia, qua poterant ante, nostram gentem delere penitus & extirpare radicitus sunt conati, & per turpis & fraudulentas hastucias in tantum contra nos prævaluerunt, quod, ejectione nobis violenter, sine superioris auctoritate, de spaciosis habitationibus nostri hereditate paterna montana, sylvestria, ac paludosa loca & inutilia etiam petrarum cavernas, pro salvanda vita nos petere, & longo tempore adinstar bestiarum in eisdem habitare, coegerunt, sed & in talibus locis nos incessanter inquietant. & quantum possunt, nituntur & omnem locum nostræ habitationis sibi indebitè usurpare, ac profundæ cæcitatibus insaniam mendaciter afferentes. nullum locum habitationis liberam nobis, in Hiberni debere: sed sibi ipsis dicta terra totaliter: et propter hac & multa alia similia inter nos & illos implacabiles inimicitiz & queræ perpetuæ sunt exortæ. Ex quibus secuta sunt occisiones mutæ. depredationes assidue; rapinæ, continuæ. fraudes & nimis crebræ. sed proh! dolor! ex defecta capitis omnis correctio nobis deficit & debita emenda. Ex hoc clerus Hibernicus & populus multis ideo annis periclitabatur nimis graviter. & horrende, non solum in rebus caducis & corporalibus, quinymmo ex eodem defeare maximum eis imminet periculum animarum. & hoc plus solito. Pro firma enim veritate tenemus. quod occasione prædictæ

Richard II.

Richard the Second was crowned at Westminster, on the sixteenth of July, in the year thirteen hundred

dictæ suggestionis falsæ, & donationis, inde secute, plus quam quinquaginta millia hominum à tempore quo fracta est, usque in præsens, de utraque natione præter consumptis fame, et afflictione et carcere de gladio ceciderunt. Hæc pauca de generali progenitorum nostrorum origine, & miserabili in quo Romanus pontifex statu nos posuit, sufficienti ista vice, Sciatis, pater sanctissime, quod Henricus, rex Angliæ, cui Hibernium ingredi modo, quod prædicatur, fuit indultum, necnon & quatuor reges successores ejusdem metas concessionis sibi fractæ per bullam papalem, sub certis articulis ex ipsa bullæ serie evidenter apparet, simpliciter sunt transgressi. Promisit enim dictus Henricus, prout in dicta bulla continetur, quod ecclesiæ Hibernica termina ditalaret ejusdem jura illibata & integra conservaret, & populum legibus subderet ac boni moribus informaret, virtutes inderet & plantaria viciorum extirparet, & de singulis domibus unius denarii annuatim beato Petro Apostolo solveret pensionem. Hanc si quidem promissionem tam ipse quam prædicti sui successores, eorumque ministri iniqui, & subdoli Anglici, de Hibernia in nullo tenentes & a concessionis forma penitus recedentes, studiose & ex intentione horum omnium præmissorum opposita opere compleverunt. Nam ecclesiæ termini in tantum per ipsos sunt restricti, sineopati, & detruncati, quod nonnullæ cathedrales ecclesiæ mediatæ terrarum & possessionum suorum violenter sunt spoliatae omni, fere ecclesiastica libertate per eisdem omnino soluta. Per ministros enim regis Angliæ in Hibernia citantur, arrestantur indifferenter episcopi & prælati, & cum hujusmodi crebras & graves patientur injurias, tanto servili timore sunt oppressi, quod eas sanctitati vestræ nullatenus audent intimare; & nos scire volumus in hac parte,

Item populum Hibernicum, quem bonis moribus informare ac legibus subdere ex condicito promiserant, taliter informant, quod sancta & columbina ejus simplicitas, ex cohabitatione & exemplo reprobo, in serpentinam caliditatem mirabiliter est mutata, legibus etiam scriptis, quibus, ut plurimum, prius regebatur, omniæque alia, nisi à qua avelli non poterat, lege privarunt, quo gentis nostræ exterminatione leges pessimas statuantes, nimis reprobas & iniquas, quarum aliquæ, exempli causa, hic sunt insertæ. In curia enim regis Angliæ in Hibernia istæ leges inviolabiliter observantur, viz. Quod omni homini, non Hibernico, licet, super quacumque indifferenter actione, convenire Hibernicum quomencunque, sed Hibernicus quilibet, sive clericus sit sive laicus, solis prælati exceptis, ab omni repulatur actione eo ipso. Item sicut plerumque nobilem & innocentem, sive regularem sive ocularem, etiam si prælati Hibernicus interfectus fuerit, nulla correctio vel emenda sit in dicta luria de tali nefario, occisores. Quinymmo quanto melior est occisus, & majorem inter suos obtinet locum; tanto plus occideras honoratur, & præmiatur ab Anglicis & maxime, ab illis, quibus factoribus justam correctionem facere & debitam emendam. Item, omnis mulier Hibernica, sive nobilis sive alia, quæ nubit Anglico cuicumque, post decessum mariti, tertia parte terrarum ac possessionum viri sui, eo ipso, quod Hibernica est, omnino privatur. Item Anglici, ubi possunt Hibernicum violenter opprimere nullo modo permittunt, quod in ultimis voluntatibus Hibernici de suis rebus, disponat aut testamentum condant quoquo modo immo omnia bona ipsorum appropriant sibi ipsis, privantes ecclesiam jure suo & sanguine ab antiquo liberum facientes ante,

hundred and seventy-seven, he being then no more than eleven years old, the care of the king and of the realm was committed to his uncles the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge, the former of whom had in his hands almost all the power of the kingdom.

James earl of Ormond was still continued in the government, who did all in his power to establish the peace of the country for the short time that he remained in office. He was succeeded by Alexander Bailscott, and after him John de Bromwick was made lord justice.—And the earl of Warwick being made sole protector of the realm of England, an act of Ordinance against absentees was made by the advice of the lords and nobles of England, assembled in parliament.—By this act it was ordained, That all who had lands, rents, or offices in Ireland, should return thither, but if they had reasonable cause to absent themselves, that then they should send sufficient deputies to defend their castles and estates, or contribute two thirds of the yearly value towards the defence of them; but that students and those in the king's service, and those absent for reasonable causes by licence

ritate propria violenter servilem. Item per commune consilium istius regis Angliæ necnon & per quosdam episcopos Anglicos, inter quos principalis extitit vir parvæ prudentiæ & nullius scientiæ archiepiscopus Ardmanacus, quoddam iniquum statutum in civitate sancti Kennici in Hibernia super fuit factum sub hac informi forma. Concordatum est quod inhabeatur omnibus religiosis, qui manent in terra pacis inter Anglicos, quod non recipiant in ordine suo, nec religionis sue, nisi illos qui sunt de natione Anglorum; & si aliter fecerint, dominus rex capiet ad eos, tamquam ad illos, qui sunt præcepti sui contempores, & eorum fundata-

tores & advocati capient ad eos, sicut ad illos, qui sunt inobedientes & advocati & contriantes isti ordinationi, factæ commune per consilium totius terræ Hiberniæ inter Anglicos. Et antequam hoc statutum factum fuisset, & post fratres prædicatores, minores, monachi canonici, ceterique Anglici religiosi ipsum observabant satis strictè, personarum maxime acceptores, monachorum tamen & canonicorum monasteria, in quibus moderno tempore Hibernici resutantur per ipsos ut communiter, fuerunt fundata. Item ubi virtutes inserere, ac plantaria vitiorum debuerant extirpare, vitiis infusus per ipsos insertis, virtutes radicitus amputarunt.

licence under the great seal of England, should be excused for one third of the yearly profit of their estates.

Many petitions from Ireland were at this time taken into consideration by the English parliament, and Sir Nicholas Dagworth was sent over to survey the possessions of the crown, to call to account the affairs of the English revenue, and for other such purposes.

A. D.
1381.

To John de Bromwick succeeded Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster.—Before his arrival the French and Spanish galleys which had done much mischief on the Irish coasts were obliged to retire into the harbour of Kinsale, where they were attacked by the English and Irish, lost some of their chief captains, together with four hundred men, and all the English prizes which they had taken which amounted to twenty-one in number.

After Edmund earl of March, John Cotton, dean of St. Patrick's and afterwards archbishop of Ardmagh, was constituted lord justice; but he did not long manage the affairs of that kingdom. Philip de Courtenay was next sent over lord lieutenant, with a patent to hold that office for the space of ten years, but behaving himself very ill in his administration, was superseded, arrested and punished for many misdemeanors laid to his charge.

Previous to this, Richard, then but a minor, had met with many troubles in England.—The tenants who held their land by villenage, and many others of the lower class had long been inclined to mutiny and rebellion; and the more diligent the parliament was in repressing them, the more eager were they in proceeding to riot for what they were pleased to term their rights. At length they took an occasion to break out
into

into open rebellion, from some indecent usage which a tax-gatherer gave to the daughter of a peasant named Wat Tyler, who, though he instantly murdered the officer on the spot, thought his revenge would not be complete unless he could entirely overturn the constitution. Accordingly he raised a great body of his friends and neighbours, and joining some other malecontents in Essex, marched towards the capital, gathering together as he went all the profligate and abandoned persons he could find, till they had increased their number to the amount of one hundred thousand.—Then halting on Blackheath they summoned their sovereign to a conference; but when he condescended so far as to go forth to meet them, the traitors endeavoured to intercept his return; and his majesty was but just time enough aware of their design to save himself by a precipitate retreat to the tower of London.—The men of Essex who were conducted by a commander called Jack Straw were afterwards appeased by the grant of some extravagant charters; and the king being willing to complete the pacification he had begun, sent to Wat Tyler, who still stood in arms with his men, to offer him the same charters that had just before been granted to his fellow rebels; but this demagogue was so insolent and so ignorant that three different ones being sent him, were all returned with his disapprobation. Nevertheless, as in his great wisdom, he was pleased to say, That he would consent to a peace if he liked the form of it, Richard invited him to a conference in Smithfield, where being arrived the rebel treated him with the greatest disrespect, and at the same time was so far from drawing to a conclusion, in regard to the terms of the treaty, that he appeared so much confused as not to attend to what

what was said to him, meditating nothing less than the murder of his sovereign, against whom he often lifted up his dagger, and was about to plunge it in his breast, when Sir William Wentworth, mayor of London, suddenly struck him with his mace in such a manner, that he was stunned with the blow; immediately on which one Philpot ran him through the body, and he fell down dead on the spot.—His associates, observing what had passed, prepared to revenge the death of their captain; but Richard, though not sixteen years of age, had the presence of mind, instead of retreating, to ride up to them, telling them he was their captain, and commanding them to follow him, promised that he would grant all their reasonable desires. Doubly confounded at the loss of their chief, and the extraordinary courage of their king, this enormous multitude attended on the latter, as it were by a mechanical impulse, till on their march they were met by Sir Robert Knowles, and a large body of citizens and others, that had been levied against them. At this sight they immediately threw down their arms and submitted, receiving from the king's hands a general pardon, and the same charter that had been granted to the men of Essex.—But these charters were afterwards revoked on account of new insurrections, and the confederacy being broken, peace was again restored to the kingdom.—Nevertheless the ground-work of those troubles had been laid which shook the constitution to its basis, and in a future period overthrew the royal power of Richard, which though he had so gallantly asserted at the age of sixteen, he was pusillanimous enough to abdicate at the age of thirty-five, as will be seen in the sequel of the history.

But,

But, to return to the Irish affairs.—The king, though troubled with doubts and suspicions of his English subjects, (amongst which the duke of Lancaster his uncle was included) on the one hand, and vexed by the depredations committed by the Scots on the other, paid so much attention to the affairs of Ireland, that he appointed Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, to govern them, who had become a great favourite, and consequently was so disagreeable to the parliament, that they even granted him a large debt due from the French monarch, on condition of his departure.—But notwithstanding all this, and though Vere was to be furnished with a considerable retinue to attend him in his expedition, in order to recover the lands which the king had given him in Ireland, yet he never went over thither, because he could not be persuaded to part from that prince who had come with him as far as Wales. In consequence of which, Sir John Stanley was made lord deputy; though Vere was afterwards made marquis of Dublin and duke of Ireland.

In Sir John Stanley's time, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, was proclaimed heir apparent to the crown; soon after Sir John was recalled, during whose absence Alexander de Balscot, bishop of Meath, was appointed. After his return, O'Neal and his sons made a submission in writing, and gave hostages for their allegiance.

When at last the parliament became so outrageous against Vere, on account of the regard his master shewed him, that he was obliged to fly, James earl of Ormond was made lord justice, who slew six hundred of the Mac Mahons in the county of Kilkenny. The absentees were now ordered home, and some recruits sent; and the duke of Gloucester was to be nominated lord lieutenant of Ireland, but the king resolving to go thither in person,

person, altered his mind afterwards, and forbade his voyage.

Having sent Sir Thomas Scroop before him, the king embarked with all convenient expedition, and landed with a great army at Waterford; but finding that there was a chance of establishing peace without the use of the sword, and that the Irish had some causes of grievance, he entered into negotiation with them, taking their submission, and obliging them to renew their oaths of allegiance.—Among the rest, Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, receiving a special commission to take the homage of the Irish inhabitants of Leinster, Donald O'Nolan and many others made their submission near Carlow, laying aside their caps, girdles, and skins, and kneeling down in the field (as we are told) before the earl. And at this time also they bound themselves and their descendants to serve the king in his wars, and give up to him all their landed possessions in Leinster, in return for which the earl promised them pensions in his master's name, and also all the estates they should be able to recover from the revolted; a piece of deep policy, which, by setting the natives at variance with each other, and making it appear their interest to continue so, was the ready way, if it took effect, to answer the end of the English, whilst it saved their blood and treasure.—After this the king removed to Drogheda, where he received the oaths of O'Neal, prince of Ulster, with the same ceremonies as those with which the earl of Nottingham had received those of O'Nolan before-mentioned.

These, and many other submissions of the same kind, the king ordered to be enrolled, and then wrote to his uncle the duke of York to inform him of what he had done, intimating at the same time, that the insurrections of the Irish did not seem always to have been always without cause.—He added, that

that he had granted them a truce till Easter, and designed to give them a general pardon; at the same time he paid the duke the compliment of asking his advice in a matter, concerning which he seemed already to have formed his resolution.

The answer was such as might have been expected; namely, That notwithstanding any counsel that might formerly have been given upon this occasion, his majesty being present on the spot was certainly the best judge of what was fit to be done; they added, The council saw nothing amiss in the scheme, provided the rebels paid some considerable fines in money, towards defraying the expences of his majesty's voyage, and took out their respective pardons within a limited time; nay, some of Richard's chief subjects afterwards went so far as to congratulate him on the pacification that he had concluded in Ireland; though, in the decline of this prince's fortune, many of these faithless men made several complaints concerning this expedition, from which he now returned well enough pleased to have settled matters by the pen rather than the sword, and to have established many regulations both in the civil and military state of the country. Before the king left Ireland, he knighted several great men, and, among the rest, four Irish kings,—of which matter I shall present the curious reader with the following account:

“ Four kings of several provinces of Ireland that submitted themselves to Richard the Second were put under the care of Henry Castile, an English gentleman that spoke Irish well, in order to prepare them for knighthood. By the king's command, he informed them of the English manners, in regard to diet apparel, and the like; and then asked them, Whether they were willing to take the order which the king of Eng-

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land

land would give them, according to the customs of England, France, and other countries. They answered at first, that they were knights already, and the order they had taken was enough for them, and that they were made knights in Ireland when they were seven years old, and that every king made his son a knight, and that if the father be dead, the next king does it; and the manner of it was thus:—The new knight, at his making, ran with slender lances against a shield, set upon a stake in a meadow; and the more lances he broke, the more honour continued with his dignity. But Henry Castile told them they should receive a knighthood with more state in the church, and afterwards being persuaded and instructed by the earl of Ormond and others, they received knighthood at Christ-Church, Dublin, after having performed their vigils in the same church, and heard mass.—There were others also knighted with them; but the four kings, in robes suitable to their state, sat that day at the same table with the king.

Richard, having settled all things to his mind for the present, returned to England; and Roger Mortimer was sworn lord lieutenant, who entered on a peaceable government. Nevertheless, the king being departed, many of the Irish entered again into a state of war with the English, which was attended with considerable loss on both sides; the lord lieutenant himself being killed by the O'Brians, on which Roger Gray was appointed to his office as *locum tenens*, till he was succeeded by Thomas Holland, duke of Surry, who at length gave place to the king himself; for that prince being desirous of revenging his cousin's death, set sail from England, and landed at Waterford with a considerable army, in the year thirteen hundred and thirty-nine, from whence he marched to Dublin, without meeting

meeting with any other obstacle than such as arose from passing through a waste and desert country, where his troops were much distressed for the want of provisions. His arrival imparting new spirit to the English, they attacked the enemy in different places, and gave them several checks; the consequence of which was, that Richard received the submission of some of the Irish lords at Dublin, and stood a chance again for putting things into a better posture in that country, when he received news of a great rebellion raised against him in England, which required his immediate departure.

The king, before he sailed for Ireland, having seized the estate of his deceased uncle John of Gaunt, whose son he had banished, the latter being informed of his sovereign's expedition, no sooner heard of his proceeding upon it, than after having prepared all things in England so as to favour his scheme, he embarked from Brittany with three small ships, from whence, after cruising for some time along the English coasts, he landed at Ravenssprug in Yorkshire, where, pretending that he only came to recover the estate which was his in right of his father, (though indeed he had a much higher aim) he won over to his cause the lords Rofs, Willoughby, and others.

—The earl of Northumberland, and his son Henry Piercy, surnamed Hotspur, inveigled by his fair words, joined him next, as did the earl of Westmoreland, with such a vast number of their tenants and vassals as soon made up no inconsiderable army.

When the duke of York heard of this insurrection he sent summonses to the lord chancellor Scrope, Sir John Bushy, Sir Henry Green, Sir William Baggot, the earl of Wiltshire, and others, to meet him in council at London, to consult what was to be

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done

done to defend the kingdom from the attempts of so formidable an enemy as Henry of Lancaster, who was the very idol of the people. But unfortunately Bushy, Bagot, and Green being much disliked by the rest of the nobles, as well as by the people, the military men assembled by York, refused to bear arms against Lancaster, who meeting with no opposition entered London in triumph, after which, hearing that his uncle had broken his staff of office and was retired to Berkeley castle, he followed him, and by his hypocritical arts inveigled him over to his party, and was actually joined, through his means, by those very forces which were levied against him. After this, Henry besieged and took Bristol castle, where he butchered the earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Bushy, and Sir Henry Green, under pretence of obliging the people, while Sir William Bagot escaping to Chester, waited for the king's arrival to inform him of these misadventures.

Whatever haste Richard might suppose he made to England, it is certain he loitered in Ireland too long for his own interest; for though the earl of Salisbury whom he sent over to collect an army for him in Wales had drawn together forty thousand men, yet when this unhappy prince arrived, the first information he received was that of their dispersion. Tired of waiting for him beyond the time appointed for his return, they could no longer be kept together by all the art or persuasion of Salisbury, but withdrew every one to his own home.—The king therefore, finding himself thus abandoned, and hearing of the great progress of the enemy, and the desertion of his uncle, began to lose all hope, and even the necessary presence of mind which alone could preserve either his honour or his life in such an exigency.—He could neither be persuaded to levy fresh troops,
and

and give his rebellious cousin battle, nor to quit the country and seek for safety and assistance in other places: on the contrary he deserted those forces that still endeavoured to support him, and privately withdrew himself with a few followers to the castle of Conway, from whence he sent his brother the duke of Exeter, together with the duke of Surry, to treat with Lancaster.—But both these noblemen were made prisoners.—Afterwards the king was amused with fair promises, till he was surprised by the duke of Northumberland, and, in the end brought prisoner to London, where many articles of accusation were exhibited against him, and then he was compelled to resign the crown which was placed on the head of his artful and treacherous cousin.—And Richard was moved first to the tower of London, and afterwards from one fortress to another till at length he was starved to death in Pontefract castle, by the command of the inhuman usurper.

Henry of Lancaster rising upon the ruins of Richard's power, was crowned on the thirteenth of October, in the year thirteen hundred and thirty-nine, and when he succeeded to the crown, he made Sir John Stanley lord lieutenant of Ireland, who, being called into England, left his brother Sir William his deputy; he surrendered his office to Stephen Scroop, a person chosen to prepare the way for Thomas duke of Lancaster, who was invested with the dignity of high steward of England.—He had some successful engagements with the Irish in which many of the latter were slain, and many more made prisoners, and the O'Birnes and others surrendered their castles to him, and taking the oaths of allegiance, promised to be good subjects for the future. He likewise punished certain enormities committed by the Eng-

Henry VI.

lish, and seems to have ruled the country with a high hand; but returning to England, he left Sir Stephen Scroop his deputy, and he resigned to Sir James Ormond, who was appointed lord justice, and held a parliament, at which the statutes of Kilkenny were confirmed. Some successes against the Scots, who carried on a sort of piratical war, and some depredations committed upon the Welch, mark the period of his administration. He died at Gauran, and was succeeded by Gerald earl of Kildare, who likewise had the good fortune to vanquish the Irish in several rencounters, and is said with the assistance of twenty Englishmen, to have defeated two hundred of them.

A. D.
1407.

Sir Stephen Scroop was next made lord deputy, who held a parliament at Dublin in January, which was not finished till the succeeding Lent, at Trim. After this he had some successes in the territory of Mac Morrough, and the county of Kilkenny.—This lord lieutenant was recalled in June, and James earl of Ormond was made lord justice, who held a parliament at Dublin, which confirmed the statutes of Kilkenny and Dublin.

To this gentleman succeeded Thomas earl of Lancaster, who when he undertook the office insisted on the following terms :

First, To hold the place for seven years.

Secondly, To have five hundred men at arms, and a thousand archers for three years.

Thirdly, To have a year's pay in hand, and afterwards to be paid every half-year.

Fourthly, To have a thousand marks *per annum* for himself, and to be paid his charges to and from England.

Fifthly, That there should be a certain fund appointed for the pay.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, That he might have a family or two at the king's charge out of every parish in England, to inhabit Ireland.

Seventhly, That he might have the power of granting benefices, as well as that of making a deputy.

Eighthly, That the demesne of the crown might be resumed, and the acts of absentees executed.

This lord lieutenant, almost immediately upon his arrival, ordered the earl of Kildare, and three persons of his family to be arrested, and permitted the earl's goods to be spoiled, keeping himself in prison till he had extorted three hundred marks from him.—In the spring having occasion to go to England, he left Thomas Butler, prior of Kilmanhaim his deputy. Mac Gillmore, a famous Irish robber, being routed during this administration by the Savages, flew for safety to the church of the friars minors at Carrickfergus; but having formerly defaced that church, it could now yield him no shelter: he had taken the iron bars away from the windows, among other things, and that very circumstance proved his destruction, for his pursuers entering that way slew him; and this death he every way deserved at the hands of that family; for when he had taken one of them prisoner, agreeing upon a ransom of two thousand marks, he promised to set him at liberty if his brother would become hostage; but when he had found means to get both of them into his power and besides received the ransom, he murdered them without remorse, and was now overtaken by a just vengeance, for the execrable deed.—This year the king gave the sword to the city of Dublin, and changed their provost into a mayor.—

The lord justice was now established, and after having settled some matters in parliament (where, amongst other ordinances, it was declared treason

to take Coigne and Livery) he proceeded to besiege some of the castles of the Irish, which he took; but setting out to invade the country of the O'Birnes, at the head of an army chiefly composed of Irish Kerns; out of fifteen hundred of these, eight hundred going over to the enemy, he was baffled in his enterprize, and returned with much difficulty, after having lost John Dr Patrick, a person of some consideration, and having abandoned the field to the enemy.

In the two succeeding years the Irish were up in arms, and O'Tool and Thomas Fitz Maurice, the sheriff of Limerick killed each other in single combat.—

After all that has been said concerning the Irish affairs in the time of Henry the Fourth it is plain they were but little attended to; and the cause was as it had often been, that the troubles in England, sufficiently employed the king and parliament at home, of which I shall speak something before I close the account of this reign.

It has been already remarked that Henry of Lancaster obtained the crown by treason, by usurpation, and a breach of the most solemn oaths and engagements, having publicly declared when he landed at Ravensbrug, that he came with no other intention than that of regaining the estates of his deceased father John of Ghent, which were unjustly withheld from him; whereas he proceeded, as soon as he found himself strong enough, to seize the king's towns, to inveigle over some of his officers, and butcher others, and finally to imprison and contrive the death of his sovereign, which was most barbarously brought about by his means. There is no wonder that the reign of this usurper, though he had got himself artfully acknowledged by the estates of the kingdom, and pretended to hold his crown by the specious title of election, should be
full

full of disorder and confusion.—When the minds of the people that had been stirred up by the instruments of faction began to cool a little, they saw through a different medium the views and designs of this ambitious prince. And, as is usual in such cases, some of his former favourites who thought themselves ill requited for their services which had helped to raise him to the throne, were the first to come to a rupture with him. Edmund earl of Mortimer had been taken prisoner by Owen Glendower, a famous Welch chieftain, and Henry rejoiced at the event, which he thought would remove a competitor for the crown out of his way, concerning whose fate he therefore gave himself no trouble, but was very solicitous about lord Grey, who had fallen into the same hands, and at length obtained his ransom. — However it was in vain that the king levied his troops, to revenge the disgrace of the English upon the Britons; he was thrice baffled, and obliged to sit down with loss and disappointment. — But in the mean time the English arms succeeded better in another quarter, and yet to the consequences of this success the king owed the greatest difficulties and dangers of his reign. — Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, the son of the great Northumberland, who had joined him on his first arrival in England, had at this time gained a victory over a body of Scots at Helmedon hill, and had made Archibald earl of Douglas, Mordake earl of Fife, and some other persons of note prisoners. — The king, when he received the news of this action, dispatched a message to the Percies, forbidding them to ransom their captives, and some time after even went so far as to send an order to deliver them up to him. As the disposal of such prisoners was at that time a matter of honour

honour and advantage, and a right understood to be lodged in the victors, Northumberland, when next he met the king, instead of complying with his demand, expostulated with him on the injustice of it; but he soon found he was not now speaking to Henry of Lancaster, but to the king of England, who expressed the greatest disapprobation of his conduct, and even checked him for his freedom of discourse. Northumberland justly offended at this arrogance, withdrew in disgust, and concerting matters with his son Piercy, and his uncle Thomas, earl of Worcester, they established a correspondence with Mortimer, who had by this time married Owen Glendower's daughter, promising to set him on the English throne, which he was really heir to; and instead of delivering up their Scottish prisoners to the king, released them without ransom, on condition of their levying men to serve them in their wars against him.—In effect, having taken all possible precautions to contrive a junction of the several bodies of troops they could raise, by an appointed time, the confederates at length openly renounced their allegiance, avowed their purpose of dethroning Henry, and published manifestos which contained many just accusations against him, though, probably aggravated by the hatred they had conceived of him for his ungrateful behaviour. The king answered these manifestos as well as he was able, and, having collected a body of troops for an expedition into Wales, he used them on this occasion to oppose the confederates;—his whole fortune now depended on one cast, and if he had not, luckily for himself, followed the advice of a Scotch refugee to march instantly to Shrewsbury with his army, Piercy, who had actually invested that place, would soon have been joined by Owen Glendower, and then it is probable their fortune would have increased

increased as his declined, and he must have taken leave of his ill-gotten royalty. But having adopted this salutary counsel, he came in time to raise the siege, and Piercy retiring from the town, prepared for a general battle, being too ardent to engage his enemy to wait for any re-inforcements. Henry was now struck with fear, and almost humbled to the dust; he would gladly have come to an accommodation with the confederates, and demanding a parley, sent such offers to Piercy, by his uncle the earl of Worcester, as would, in all probability have been accepted, but that the latter, (as he thought very prudently) did not properly represent them to his nephew, who instantly gave battle to the royalists; but having separated himself from his troops, in order to make sure of the king's destruction by breaking in upon his guard, he was slain, his ally Douglas taken prisoner, and the army routed with a terrible slaughter; though not without leaving lasting marks of their vengeance among their enemies, who lost many persons of great valour and distinction, and had above fifteen hundred men killed, and near three thousand miserably wounded in this battle. The king himself narrowly escaped with life at the beginning of the engagement, and the prince of Wales was hurt with an arrow in the field, while he was desperately fighting in defence of his father.—Worcester, Sir Richard Vernon, and others of the confederates who were taken prisoners in this action were put to death, but Douglas was once more sent ransomless home, on account of his extraordinary valour.

Henry having been so near losing his crown and life, in return for his ingratitude to the Piercys, began now to affect a shew of moderation, as he well knew the battle of Shresbury could not
have

have extinguished the embers of civil war in such a manner but that the breath of resentment might blow them again into a flame. He therefore took Northumberland again into favour, even assisted in reconciling him with some of his private enemies, and affected to treat with great moderation all the confederates who were not actually found in arms against him.—But as the people were by this time acquainted with the king's temper, they rightly judged all these favours to be mere virtues of necessity, and received them accordingly. The report constantly circulated among the people, that Richard was still alive, though Henry well enough knew it to be false, yet worked him great annoyance.—There were many grievances complained of by the nobles, and whenever any thing was started against the government, it was sure to find abettors.—Another insurrection was raised, in which the archbishop of York, Thomas Mowbray, and the lord Hastings and others, once more attempted, under the auspices of Northumberland, to dethrone the king; but the principal of these noblemen, together with the archbishop, were entrapped in a snare by a stratagem of the earl of Westmoreland, and afterwards executed as traitors.—Yet even after this, a battle was fought against the king at Bramham Moor, wherein the earl of Northumberland lost his life; and Owen Glendower continued still very troublesome; though at length being reduced by the prince of Wales, and being deserted by his followers, died in obscurity.—Besides all this, Henry was often embroiled abroad, and never knew what it was to enjoy the comfort and satisfaction of that state which he had sacrificed every tie of honour and humanity to get possession of.

His troublesome reign was at last shortened by death, at a time when he entertained the thoughts of expiating his crimes by taking part in the holy war,

war, which was so much the fashion of those days. As he grew nearer to his end, he never would rest without the crown being placed by him, which his son, the prince of Wales, one day took away, imagining him to be dead, whereupon, recovering from a long swoon, he caused the prince to be called, and rebuked him for his haste in taking away the crown, who in his defence ableged, what was really the truth, adding,—“I took the crown as my inheritance, but now I see you alive, I restore it with much more pleasure, and may God grant you many happy days to enjoy it with peace.” On which, it is said, Henry exclaimed, “O, my son, God, who knows how I came by it, I hope will pardon me.”—The son replied, in the spirit of a warrior, That he had little business to enquire into that matter; but as it now descended to him, he was resolved to defend it as his father had done, that is to say, by the sword.

Henry, who was at the same time a very wise prince, and a very wicked man, died at last in great seeming concern for those crimes which he had never scrupled to enjoy the fruits of.—He expired in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, in the year fourteen hundred and thirteen, thereby fulfilling, in the opinion of the vulgar, an idle prediction, That he should die in Jerusalem, which, however, Henry had always understood to mean the Holy Land, whither he was on the point of making an expedition in person.

Henry of Monmouth next succeeded his father on the English throne, by the title of Henry the Fifth, and resting his claim on his succession to the last possessor of the crown, which he received on the ninth day of April, amidst the general acclamations of the people, who, notwithstanding the wildness

Henry V.

wildness of his youth, promised themselves much happiness under his government.

To return to the affairs of Ireland.—Soon after the accession of Henry the Fifth, the prior of Kilmanhaim gave place to Sir John Stanley, who was made lord lieutenant; but, dying at Ardee on the succeeding summer the nobility elected Thomas Crawley lord justice, who had been twice chancellor, and was then archbishop of Dublin, and who held a parliament at Dublin that year.

The Irish were up in arms as usual, and the lord justice marched against them; but being more accustomed to praying than to fighting, he left others to engage the enemy, while he attended to his devotions. However, his people gave them a check for that time; but it was soon found, by their successes in other parts, that a military and an active man was necessary to keep order in such a state as that of Ireland.—And such a one was sent over in the person of Sir John Talbot lord Furnival, who was next made lord lieutenant, and immediately upon his arrival, made a kind of military progress through the Pale, and reduced some of the Irish chieftains to sue for peace; but the army being ill paid, and he having brought no force from England, no great things in the military way could either be achieved or expected.

In the mean time king Henry was employed on his expedition to France, and, in the year fourteen hundred and fifteen, gained a great victory over the French at Agincourt, while the native Irish were employed in burning and plundering the possessions of his subjects in Ireland, during the session of the parliament at Dublin, which was afterwards adjourned to Trim, where it sat for seven days, and granted his majesty a subsidy.

There had been an act passed for the return of Irishmen of several denominations to their own country,

country, and now there was another, whereby it was ordained, "That all archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors of the Irish nation, rebels to the king, that should make any collation or presentment to benefices in Ireland, or bring with them any Irish rebels among the Englishmen to the parliament, councils, or other assemblies, within the same land, to know the state of the Englishmen, their temporalities should be seized till they fine to the king, and that the governors of Ireland be defended and restrained from granting such benefices or pardons in the case, to Irish persons not English, and that such licences should be void."

In the year fourteen hundred and nineteen the lord lieutenant razed the castle of Kenur. He had also taken Mac Morrough prisoner, as did also lord William Burgh by O'Kelly, and killed a number of Irishmen in Connaught.

But now, being sent for to England, the lord lieutenant substituted his brother Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, lord deputy, who held a parliament at Naas, which granted another subsidy.

James earl of Ormond coming over lord lieutenant, first held a council at Dublin, which met him accordingly on the 7th of June, and was very liberal in granting larger subsidies than the former one.

A. D.
1420

This year he took Golmolin castle, and the parliament met again according to adjournment, and appointed commissioners to go to the king, to desire reformation of the state of Ireland;—the bishop of Cashell was likewise accused before the parliament, and thirty articles exhibited against him. And there was also a great dispute between Adam Pory, bishop of Cloyne, and another bishop; but it appears that the former accusation was suppressed, and the other business was referred to Rome for a determination.

At

At this time the lord justice's servants were attacked and defeated by the Irish; but, in revenge for this affront, the lord justice invaded the country of O'More and routed his people, obliging them to come and sue for peace.—But O'Dempsey invaded the Pale, and took a castle from the earl of Kildare; and Mac Mahon burned and destroyed Urgyle, till the lord justice gave him a check and obliged him to submission.

While things were thus situated, in the year fourteen hundred and twenty-two, Henry the Fifth died in France of a dysentery. He exhibited as great an example of courage in death as he had done in life, and declaring that he had a clear conscience, he preserved a cheerful countenance to the last, and expired with the greatest serenity, making it his boast, that his reign, though short, had been glorious, and excusing the scenes of bloodshed he had occasioned in France; by laying them to the charge of the natives of that nation, who, as he alledged, had drawn all these evils upon themselves, by controverting the justice of his title. Though this was false reasoning, yet it is certain that Henry was in a state of the utmost tranquility as to the concerns of his conscience, though he expressed some uneasiness with regard to the heir of the crown, who was then a minor.

That prince was proclaimed by the name of Henry the Sixth, when he was no more than nine months old, and writs for the calling of a parliament were issued in his name, by his uncle the duke of Gloucester. But though Gloucester had been appointed regent by the deceased king, yet the parliament bestowed this office on the duke of Bedford, who was his elder brother.—And Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, and his brother Henry, bishop of Winchester, were nominated to take charge of the young king's education.

James

James earl of Ormond was lord lieutenant of Ireland at the accession of Henry the Sixth; but soon after Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, came over in the same capacity; he died of the plague, and now, during the succession of five different persons to the same high office.* Nothing remarkable occurs in the history, except the case of the prior of Lanthony.—The case was this: A judgment in the Common Pleas being removed to the Irish parliament, was affirmed there; on which a writ of error was sent from England; but the king's bench in England would not take cognisance of a judgement in the parliament of Ireland to reverse it; and therefore the prior petitioned the king that the record might be transmitted to the house of lords in England, there to be examined.

Several other gentlemen were appointed lord lieutenants, of whom we hear as little as of the former.† But James earl of Ormond being appointed in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-three, received a writ to eject John Cornwallsh, and to place Michael Braffin chief baron in his room, because the king had granted him that office for life, though the other had received a patent of a prior date from Ormond.—At this time, James earl of Desmond obtained a strange privilege; for after having received the custody of the towns of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, he had full leave granted him to absent himself, during life, from all future parliaments, on account of the necessity there was for him to attend his charge, and the danger that he might be in from the king's enemies, if he should constantly appear in those

* John lord Talbot, James earl of Ormond, Sir John Grey, Edward Dantzy, Sir John Sutton, and Sir Thomas Strange, whom the last mentioned left his deputy.

† These were Sir Thomas Stanley, and Sir Christopher Plunket, Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, and lord Wells.

public assemblies. At this time there were likewise great disturbances between the Talbots and the Butlers.—And some who wanted to have the lord lieutenant removed, succeeded so well in their complaints against him, that they got him removed, though with honour, and John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, established in his place, who going over to England, accused Ormond of treason, but the accusation was void. This matter produced much ill blood between the two parties, and one challenge to the combat; but the king interposing, put a stop to it.

Richard duke of York was removed from the regency of France to be appointed lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which was done in order to send Somerset over in his room to France—Before the duke accepted the place he caused an instrument to be drawn up to bind the king and government to certain conditions, of which the following is the substance.

First, That he should be the king's lieutenant in Ireland for ten years.

Secondly, That, to support the charge of that country, he should receive the whole revenue without account.

Thirdly, That he should be supplied with treasure out of England in this manner: four thousand marks for the first year, of which he should have two thousand pounds before hand; and receive two thousand pounds per annum, during the nine succeeding years.

Fourthly, That he might let the king's lands to farm, and place and displace the king's officers at his pleasure.

Fifthly, That he might levy what number of soldiers he thought fit.

Sixthly, That he might make a deputy, and return at his pleasure.

Yet

Yet after all these stipulations, it neither appears that the duke brought over a great army nor that the government enabled him to support one in the island; however, though he complained loudly of these things yet it is probable that he saw there was a likelihood of their serving his purposes at some future period.

As he was a man of valour and address, he soon began even with all these disadvantages to make a figure in Ireland—and he held two parliaments in the year fourteen hundred fifty, which seemed to tend to a reformation of many evils in the civil government, to which some historians say they were partly stimulated by a complaining letter sent the lord lieutenant by the inhabitants of Munster, to which being somewhat remarkable I shall give a place in this history—It is as follows :

“ It may please your wisdoms to have pity of us, the king's poor subjects within the county of Cork, or else we be cast away for ever; for where there was in this county those lords by name, besides knights, esquires, gentlemen and yeomen, to a great number, that might spend yearly eight hundred pounds, six hundred pounds, four hundred pounds, two hundred pounds, two hundred pounds, one hundred pounds, one hundred marks, twenty pounds, twenty marks, ten pounds, some more, some less, to a great number, besides those lords following; first the lord marquis Carew, his yearly revenues, were, besides Darcey Haven and other creeks, two thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barnewale of Bear-haven, his yearly retinue besides Bear-haven and other creeks, sixteen hundred pounds sterling. The lord Uggan of the great castle, his yearly revenues were, besides havens and creeks, one thousand three hundred pounds sterling. The lord Bulram of Emfarle, his yearly revenues were, besides havens and creeks,

one thousand three hundred pounds sterling. The lord Courcy of Killbreton, his yearly revenues, besides havens and creeks, one thousand five hundred pounds sterling. The lord Mandevil of Barnhely, his yearly revenues besides havens and creeks, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Arundel of the Strand, his yearly revenues, besides havens and creeks, were one thousand five hundred pounds sterling. The lord Baron of the Guard, his yearly revenues besides havens and creeks, one thousand one hundred pounds sterling. The lord Sleyne of Baltimore, his yearly revenue besides havens and creeks amounted to eight hundred pounds sterling.

The lord Roche of Pool Castle, his yearly revenues, besides havens and creeks, one thousand pounds sterling. The king's majesty hath the lands of the late young Barry by forfeiture, the yearly revenues whereof besides two rivers and creeks, and all other casualties, is one thousand eight hundred pounds sterling. And at the end of this parliament your lordship with the kings most noble council, may come to Cork, and call before you all those lords and other Irishmen, and command in pain of loss of life lands and goods that never any of them do make war upon another without licence or commandment of you my lord deputy and the kings council; for the utter destruction of these parts is by that only cause;— and once all the Irishmen and the king's enemies were driven into a great valley, called Glanchought, betwixt two great mountains, called Maicorte or the leprous island, and there they lived long and many years, with their white meat, till at the last, these English lords fell at variance among themselves, and then the weakest part took certain Irishmen to take their side, and so vanquished his enemy; and thus fell the English lords at variance amongst themselves till the Irishmen were stronger than they and drove them

them away and now have the whole country under them, but that the lord Roche, the lord Courcy, and the lord Barry, only remain with the least part of their ancestors possessions, and young Barry is there upon the kings portion, paying his grace never a penny of rent—Wherefore we, the kings poor subjects of the city of Cork, Kinsale and Youghall, desire your lordship to send hither two good justices, to see this matter ordered, and some English captains with twenty Englishmen, that may be captains over us all; and we will rise with them, to redress those enormities, all at our own costs; and if you do not, we be all cast away, and then farewell Munster for ever, and if you will not come nor send we will send over to our liege lord the king, and complain of you all.”—

The lord lieutenant returning to England left James earl of Ormond his deputy, who being himself afterwards made lord lieutenant, went over to England likewise, leaving John Mey, archbishop of Armagh his deputy; but the English government not being pleased with this appointment, Thomas earl of Kildare was made deputy, who surrendered to Sr Edward Fitz Eustace, whom Richard duke of York thought fit to appoint.

By this time that ambitious nobleman had got himself declared protector of England—Henry who was a weak prince had very unadvisedly first entrusted York (who had a claim to the crown which he could not be ignorant of) with great power, and afterwards provoked him—Somerset was his great rival—They had impeached each other, and the weakness of the king, instead of standing neuter, had led him to shew a partiality in favour of the latter who was one of his queen's minions—York's high spirit no brooking this, led him to associate with the earl of Warwick, and several discontented lords who at length gave battle to their sovereign, whom

they defeated at St. Albans, and led him to London, Somerset being slain in the engagement. After this, a parliament being called bestowed the office of protector of the kingdom, as mentioned above, upon the duke, who now held his sovereign in effect a prisoner in his capital city, a disgrace which his queen, Margaret of Anjou, could never endure to think of, and that princess accordingly set herself to work to abolish this new form of government, first, because she had penetration enough to see that how fairly soever the lords carried it to the king, the appointment of York to such an high office must needs prove fatal to the interests of her husband and his family, and secondly, because she was expressly accused by the parliament of having misled the king in matters which concerned his government. And all these circumstances gave birth to that civil war which marked this reign as a scene of horror and unnatural commotion.

While Sir Edward Fitz-Eustace was lord deputy at a parliament held in Dublin the following ordinances were enacted.

I. That all statutes against provisors in England, or Ireland, should be held in force.

II. That inquests before coroners should be discharged after a second verdict, that they do know the felon.

III. That no appeals should be to England, except for treason against the king's person, and in all else appeals the plaintiff shall pay damages, and twenty pound and one hundred shillings fine.

Thomas earl of Kildare as the duke of York's deputy called a parliament which enacted

I. That no exigents nor outlawries be made by commissioners.

II. That the recorder of Dublin and Drogheda, have but two pence for every plaint.

III. That every man answer for his in and waged men,

IV. An

IV. An act about escheators.

V. That a parliament should be held every year.

And at another parliament at Naas, these ordinances were established.

I. That all strangers pay forty pence per pound custom for transporting silver.

II. That every man answer for his sons, except in capital cases.

III. That no person, not amenable to law, shall distrain, without licence, on pain of forfeiting his title.

And another parliament being convened at Dublin, Friday after the purification, made the following regulations :

I. That beneficed persons should reside.

II. That the inhabitants to enclose the village, might remove the highway forty perch.

Sir Andrew Trollop and others deserting the duke of York when he had levied an army against the king, that prince fled to Ireland ; but soon afterwards returned with his son, the earl of March, and, after many struggles, defeating Henry in a pitched battle, he called a parliament before whom he claimed the crown, which was settled on him and his heirs ; but to remain with Henry during his natural life, who if he had had either a wife nor a child would really have been happy enough in the agreement, but as the case stood both parties were far from seeing an end of their troubles. At length the queen having, in her turn, defeated and took Richard duke of York prisoner, and set his head upon the gates of York ; but his son Edward was so far from being intimidated by this proceeding that, being joined by the earl of Warwick and other lords, he never ceased persecuting the house of Lancaster, till at last he had totally defeated king Henry, took him prisoner, and kept him confined in the tower, and obliged

lized queen Margaret, who was a woman of undaunted courage, to fly for safety to foreign lands.

All this while though the deceased Richard had behaved himself both bravely and discreetly as the lord lieutenant of Ireland, yet the troubles in England gave the natives an opportunity of regaining great part of the country, and even those places which remained in the hands of the English, were subjected to certain subsidies, which they paid to the Irish for the sake of peaceable possession *.

Such are and such ever must be part of the fruits of civil dissensions; but what was all this compared to what passed in England at this time, where the father fought against the son, the brother against the brother, agriculture and all the arts of peace were neglected, princes were lurking in disguise, great barons begging their bread, and the land from end to end deluged with the blood of the unhappy subjects, who for the most part could be little gainers either by the house of York or that of Lancaster, whilst, on the other hand, they were almost certain of being deplorable losers by both.

A. D.
1460.
Edward IV.

Edward by the decease of his father, duke of York, was proclaimed king, by the name of Edward the Fourth, and was certainly the lawful heir to the crown; though it is highly probable that this claim would have slept a great while longer,

* The following is a list of some of them,

The barony of Lecale to O'Neal of Clondeboy 20 l. per annum.

The county of Uriel to O'Neal 40 l.

The county of Meath to O'Conor 20 l.

The county of Kildare to O'Conor 30 l.

The king's archbishop Mac Morrough 80 marks.

The county of Wexford to Mac Morrough 40 l.

The counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary to O'Carroll 1 l.

The county of Limerick to O'Brian 40 l.

The county of Cork to MacCarthy of Muskerry 40 l.

longer, and might even perhaps have been buried in oblivion, if it had not been for the pusillanimity of Henry, and the arbitrary measures of his ministers, Edward was rather inclined to tyranny than to weakness, and having experienced the temper of the English, seemed resolved at his first setting off that they should never serve him as they had done his rival; though they played him a trick of the same sort not many years after, from the ill effects of which it was rather owing to chance than to any thing else that he found means to extricate himself.

Edward succeeding to the crown, Thomas earl of Kildare continued lord justice, till Sir Rowland Fitz Eustace was appointed deputy to the duke of Clarence, the king's brother, who was made lord lieutenant for life; to whom Sir Rowland resigned the government, on which Clarence appointed another deputy; and that was the earl of Desmond, his godfather. Mints were now established at Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, and Galway, and it was now first ordered that English money should be advanced in Ireland one fourth above its current value in England, so that nine pence passed for a shilling. Several parliaments were called, and the regulations they made were in general such as tended to the well-being of the states, and the benefit of the individuals.

But among the parliaments there is mention made of one held at Drogheda, where John Lord Tiptoft earl of Worcester being lord deputy, it was resolved that the earls of Desmond and Kildare and Edward Plunkett, esq; should be attainted of treason for their alliance with the Irish, and furnishing them with arms, which were used to the detriment of the king's subjects;—and on this accusation, and others of a like sort, the earl who is said to have been the first person that introduced the custom

custom of Coigne and Livery among the English was beheaded.—And as soon as he was executed the lord deputy set out for England, Kildare not only being pardoned but left lord justice in his room; and he also held a parliament at Dublin for the regulation of many matters of public and private concern. Amongst other things this parliament enacted a fraternity of arms to be established, who were yearly to assemble at Dublin on St. George's day, the captain of whom was to have a band of an hundred and twenty archers on horseback, and was empowered to apprehend all outlaws, and others that were not answerable to the laws of the land. And on this footing was the brotherhood of St. George established.

A. D.
1475.

William of Sherwood bishop of Meath being deputy to the duke of Clarence, held a parliament, in which it was enacted, That it should be treason to bring bulls from Rome, and which enacted that the lords of parliament should wear robes on pain of forfeiture of one hundred shillings, and the barons of the exchequer were also to wear their habits in term-time. And it was declared lawful for any Englishman being injured by an Irishman not answerable to law to avenge such injury upon the whole sept or nation. [An institution equally impolitic as unjust, and which tended to the kindling strife and animosity, and the confounding every idea of moral right and justice] And it was declared felony to take a distress contrary to the common law.

But Henry lord Grey of Ruthen being made deputy, held a parliament, which repealed all the acts of the twelfth year of Edward the Fourth. He was succeeded by Sir Robert Preston, who gave place to Gerald earl of Kildare, and he remained
lord

lord deputy at the death of Edward the Fourth, who expired on the ninth day of April, in the year fourteen hundred and eighty three, after having shed more blood than any of the princes of his time, after having risen from the station of a baron to a throne, after having been deposed for his ingratitude to him who set him up, and after having again regained by his brother's perfidy what he had lost by his own.

Henry the Sixth having been stabbed, or dying Edward V. of grief in the Tower, and his son having been slain in cool blood after the last battle fought at Tewksbury, Edward, the eldest son of the deceased king, consequently claimed the crown; but the same action, which had lost his father the heart of the earl of Warwick, namely, his marriage with the widow Wideville while that earl was soliciting an alliance with the French king, that very action displeased his brother and relations, and occasioned factions among those who were the most zealously attached to the interests of his house. Richard, who was declared protector of the kingdom, took advantage of these differences, and though he pretended to wish a perfect reconciliation might be brought about between the chiefs of the factions, yet he managed matters so as to play them off in such a manner as to rid himself of those who were most likely to oppose his measures and intimidate the rest; after which he got the two sons of Edward declared illegitimate and set aside by parliament; and not contented with that, caused them also to be removed out of the way in some private manner, either by death or banishment, so that nobody knew what was become of them, and then he assumed the crown; and took the title of Richard the Third.

This usurping prince confirmed his power in Richard III. the same manner as he had established it, by
op.

oppression and bloodshed, and was disliked by good men of all parties and persuasions.

He continued Gerald, earl of Kildare, in the lieutenancy of Ireland, not being willing to meddle with affairs there when he had so much work at home as his subjects soon began to cut out for him. Engaging with Henry, earl of Richmond, of the line of Tudor, who came to claim the crown, Richard was defeated in Bosworth field, by means of the desertion of lord Stanley, after having exhibited more proofs of valour in a few hours in the field than he had shewn of virtue during the three years of his reign.

The earl of Richmond succeeding by conquest and a distant claim derived from the house of Lancaster, and besides getting his title recognised by an act of parliament, ascended the throne, was crowned by the name of Henry the Seventh;—he afterwards married Elizabeth, the heiress of the house of York, as he had solemnly engaged that he would, and saw himself in full possession of all the royalties of England.

He continued Gerald earl of Kildare as deputy of Ireland, as he did also many other great officers of state; nor did he neglect the house of Ormond, who had been friendly to the that of Lancaster, but restored them to their estates and honours, as was likewise the case of the family of Desmond; as to Sir Thomas Butler he was not only restored, but also taken into favour, and sworn a member of the privy council in Ireland.

But Henry, who was a man of great penetration, was not long before he discovered that the house of York had yet some remaining hopes in Ireland, he therefore sent over for the lord deputy; but he excused himself from coming upon the
f.m.

summons, which how speciously soever he argued in his own defence, must needs have strengthened the king's suspicions; and in the sequel it appeared that he had placed them rightly, for a storm soon appeared ready to break over him from that quarter.

As the Irish had always entertained a respect for George duke of Clarence, because he was born in their country, a certain priest tutored one Lambert Symnel, a youth of a good address to personate the young earl of Warwick the only son of that duke. He was taken notice of by the dukes of Burgundy, who promised to support his interest, and was received with great kindness by the lord deputy and most of the nobility, clergy, and people of Ireland. In the mean time Henry shewed the real earl of Warwick whom he had in his hands through the streets of London, and besides got a bull from the pope, requiring the clergy to excommunicate the rebels, both which plans were well concerted and could not fail in many respects of answering the purpose intended by them, which they did with all but the Irish, who seeing that Lambert was furnished with an aid of two thousand Germans by the dukes of Burgundy, who was the implacable enemy of the house of Lancaster, resolved to strain every nerve to carry matters in his favour, and to set him upon the English throne. In Christ-Church Dublin, he was crowned with great solemnity, the lord deputy himself, and many of the principal nobility being present and expressing the greatest joy at the celebration of this ceremony; and presently after they called a parliament in the name of their new king, and the clergy granted the pope a subsidy to absolve them.—And now projecting an invasion of England, the lord chancellor resigned his office, in order to have an opportunity of joining Symnel, who embarking with the principal of his followers, and an Irish army under the command of the

the earl of Lincoln, landed safe in Lancashire. They at first intended to enter Newark ; but the king having taken very prudent measures to prevent the execution of that design, they turned aside towards Nottinghamshire, and the next day having posted themselves on the declivity of a hill near Stoke, they perceived that the king who was by this time come up with them, had drawn up his troops in order of battle, whereupon they did the same, and as the royalists though exceeding them in number, had the disadvantage of a narrow plain, which would not at all permit them to extend their front and make use of that superiority, but were obliged, on the contrary, to form three lines, the earl hoped if he could break the first of these they would fall back upon the others, and so put the whole army into confusion. This he endeavoured with all his might, and was well seconded by the Irishmen, who fought with amazing courage and resolution, though ill armed, and galled perpetually by the English archers.—However, their attempt of breaking Henry's line failing, which was continually supplied from the rear as from a never failing fountain ; and being charged, in their turn with great impetuosity, they were at last defeated, but not till the earl of Lincoln, with four thousand of his followers were slain, and Martin Swart, the commander of the Germans with the bravest of his veterans cut to pieces.—To render the victory complete, Lambert Symnel and his tutor were made prisoners. The priest was committed to prison, and possibly there secretly made away with ; and as to Symnel, instead of executing or imprisoning him, Henry made him one of his scullions, in contempt, but afterwards promoted him to the office of his falconer.

Cox.

When the rebellion was thus crushed, the earl of Kildare, and others of the great men among
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the Irish, who had favoured the insurgents, sent to solicit their pardon at the court of England, in consequence of which submission the lord deputy was continued in his office, and the king sent over Sir Richard Edgecomb with power to grant their request, after having obliged them to renew their oaths, and bind themselves in recognisances for their future good behaviour.—

He embarking with five hundred men on board five ships, arrived at Kinsale, where he accepted, in the king's name, the submission of the lord Thomas Barry, and afterwards that of James lord Courcy, and the inhabitants of the town of Kinsale. — Sailing to Waterford, he highly commended the people of that place for their fidelity which they had maintained amidst the general defection, and promised that his master would not forget to reward them for it. When he reached Dublin, in his progress the earl of Kildare was absent; but, on his return, he sent for Edgecumbe, who delivered the king's letters to him with a stern aspect. After this they had a private conference, and then separated for that time. On the following Sunday, a revocation of the excommunications denounced against the revolted was read. (which the king had purposely sent over, to shew his moderation) and then the nobility and clergy took an oath, whereby, among other promises, they engaged not to hinder the excommunication of all such as should oppose the king, and the clergy promised that they would publish the pope's excommunication against all the king's enemies in Ireland, as often as they should be required so to do.—These ceremonies being finished, Edgecomb proceeded to another; for the earl of Kildare, being first absolved from his excommunication, did homage, renewed his oath of allegiance, and entered into recognisances for

for keeping it inviolate; after which he not only received his pardon, but the commissioner also put a gold chain round his neck, which Henry had sent him as a token of his thorough reconciliation.

The Seventh Henry was always accounted a wise prince, and his conduct through this whole business approved him such. The early intelligence he found means to procure of the rebels designs, the expedition with which he frustrated them, and above all, his moderation after he had defeated their power, shew the depth of his policy in a most conspicuous light.—Besides, as to the Irish, the defection had been so general among them, that if he had proceeded to extremities, he must have ruined almost all the great men of English descent among them, a step which would have been likely to prove the destruction of the colony. He therefore prudently avoided the trial; and, whilst in his heart he still entertained suspicions of the people of that country, he chose at this time to make them believe that notwithstanding all that had passed, he was still disposed to place a confidence in them, which he entertained hopes they would for the future endeavour to deserve.

—And though, some time after, he sent for many of the nobility over to England, making Lambert Symnel serve as butler before them; yet, after some rebukes, he dismissed them again, with presents, and other marks of his favour; nor could the Archbishop of Ardmagh, who had all along stood firm to the king's interest, though he used all his endeavours to obtain the grant of the chancellorship from the king, who did not chuse thereby to offend the earl of Kildare, and hazard a renewal of troubles in the kingdom.

However

However Edgecomb still continued his progress through Dublin, and visited all the rest of the pale, where he received the submission of the nobles and the people in the manner above related; and, on these matters being settled, the lord deputy began making reprisals upon Macgeoghen, and took a castle, and, having done much mischief in the country, returned loaded with spoils to Dublin. And Bukagh, earl of Desmond obtained two victories over the Irish—in one battle, Murrough O'Carrol and his brother Moyl Murry were slain, and in the other fell Dermod Mac Teige Carthy.

In the year fourteen hundred and seventy-two, the earl of Kildare was recalled, and Walter Fitz Symons, archbishop of Dublin, was made deputy to Jasper, duke of Bedford, while Eustace, lord of Portlester was removed from the office of treasurer to make room for Sir James Ormond, and the latter coming over with a military attendance, a quarrel happening between him and the earl of Kildare occasioned a skirmish between their followers, which threatened very disagreeable consequences: Yet more changes were still made in the administration, which would by no means have been deemed consistent with sound policy, but on account of some intelligence the king received, that the dutcheffs of Burgundy, who had favoured Symnel, was at this time contriving another scheme of the same nature, in order to raise a rebellion in Ireland.

—The plan of this business was infinitely better laid than that of the former; for whereas Symnel pretended to be earl of Warwick while Henry had the real earl in his hands; a person now appeared who took upon himself the character of Richard duke of York, second son of

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A a

Edward

Edward the Fourth, whom nobody knew what was become of. He came originally from Lisbon where he was supposed to have lain concealed, and arriving at Cork was there courteously received by the inhabitants, one of whom, a great merchant, John Walter by name, wrote to the earls of Kildare and Desmond in his favour; but in the interim this youth (known since by the name of Perkin Warbeck) went over upon invitation to the king of France, and stayed at his court for some time, but retreated to Flanders, when that prince and king Henry came to an accommodation, and was well received by the dutchess of Burgundy, who acknowledged him as her relation, and did all that was in her power to promote his interest.

A. D.
1493.

A parliament being held at Dublin, quashed some indictments which had formerly been set on foot against the lord deputy by the lord Portlester, who since that time had himself been questioned concerning his discharge of the office of treasurer at the council board; a former act made against the city of Waterford was repealed, and one passed for a general resumption of all the crown lands that had been alienated since the first year of king Henry the Sixth.

In the September following, Robert Preston, lord Gormanstown, was made lord deputy, who called a parliament without having authority to do so, and procured several of the nobility at Trim to sign articles for the preservation of the peace of that kingdom.

Cor.

Fitz Symonds passing over into England to give an account of his government, as well as the state of the kingdom, the earl of Kildare not long after hearing that he was impeached, went into England also; but the lord deputy leaving the government

vernment in the hands of his son, followed him thither, and so far prevailed that the earl's justification was rejected, and he was sent over prisoner to Ireland, the matter being referred thither for examination.

Sir Edward Poynings knight of the Garter was the next lord deputy, who set himself about suppressing by all possible means the adherents of Perkin Warbeck, who as soon as he arrived made great changes in the administration of affairs.—He made Henry Dean, bishop of Bangor, lord chancellor, Sir Hugh Conway treasurer, Thomas Bourin chief justice of the King's Bench, and Sir John Topcliff chief justice of the Common Pleas, while Walter Ever was made chief baron of the Exchequer; all of whom were Englishmen born, and were sworn members of the Irish privy council.

In conjunction with the earl of Kildare this lord deputy undertook to invade Ulster, whither some of Perkin Warbeck's friends had retired, and did great execution among the Irish, nevertheless the earl, who indeed seemed destined to be always in some embarrassment, was suspected of a conspiracy with O'Hanlon to destroy the lord deputy; but of this accusation, after a full hearing he was afterwards acquitted.

However, it is certain that the earl of Kildare's brother seized at this very time on the castle of Caterlogh; and on this account the lord deputy was obliged to make a peace with O'Hanlon, and the Irish at any rate, and taking their oaths and hostages, marched to that castle and invaded it, which surrendered to him after a siege of ten days, and the affair served to prejudice men in their opinion concerning the suspected earl, of whom it must be thought very extraordinary indeed

deed that he was joined with the lord deputy at all in this expedition against the Irish, when we consider all that had passed before, and the various suspicions of and accusations against him, which seem to render him an unfit person to be employed in a matter of such a nature, at least at the time we are speaking of.

In the month of November, in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-four, the famous parliament sat at Drogheda, which enacted the following ordinances :

I. That the treasurer might appoint his under officers here, as is usual in England, and shall account once a year here before the barons of the exchequer, and such of the council as the lord deputy shall appoint ; and the same accounts to be certified into England, and finally determined and settled there.

II. That no minister of justice, viz. the chancellor, treasurer, judges, clerks, or master of the rolls, nor any officer, accomptant shall have their places but during the king's pleasure.

III. An act annulling a prescription which traitors and rebels claimed in Ireland.

[The reason of which act was because Richard duke of York, at his last being in Ireland, caused a law to be made, That Ireland should be a sanctuary for refugees, and that it should be treason to disturb any body there by any writ, privy seal or other matters from England.]

IV. The famous statute, commonly called Poyning's act, that no parliament should, for the future, be holden in Ireland until the chief governor and council do first certify the king under the great seal of that land, as well the causes and considerations, as the acts they design to pass, and till the same be approved by the king and council, and a licence thereupon do issue from the king

king to summon a parliament; and that all parliaments hereafter holden in other manner be void and of none effect. And it is to be noted, That this act was by the statute of 28 Henry VIII. c. 4. and c. 20. suspended as to that parliament, and by the statute of 3. 4. Philip and Mary it is at large explained, and by the statute of 11 Elizabeth, Poyning's act was again suspended or superseded, as to that parliament, but upon second thoughts, and in another session a law was made (11 Eliz. c. 8.) That no bill should, for the future, be certified into England, for the repeal of Poyning's act, until first such bill should be approved of by the majority of both houses of parliament in Ireland.

V. That all the statutes against provisors made in England or Ireland be put in execution here.

VI. That no citizen nor townsman receive livery or wages from any nobleman or gentleman, neither engage themselves by indenture or otherwise to any lord or gentleman, on pain of being disfranchised and expelled the corporation; and the chief magistrate to forfeit twenty pounds if he fails to punish the transgressors of this law; and that no lord or gentleman shall retain any other but his officers and menial servants, on pain of twenty pounds.

VII. That none be aldermen, jurors, or free-men in any town, but such as have been apprentices or constant inhabitants there: and that no man be mayor but one known to be loyal, nor any lord or other be made privy to their consultation, except their recorder, on pain of an hundred marks;—and all their bye-laws contrary to the king's prerogative and jurisdiction to be void; and that this act be recorded in every corporation.

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VIII. That

VIII. That the statutes of Kilkenny be confirmed and executed, except those about the Irish language, and riding on saddles.

IX. That the subjects keep bows and arrows.

X. That the captains of marches do present the names of their retinue by indenture, that they may answer for their defaults; and that it be felony to succour, or wittingly to suffer rebels or enemies to pass the marches, and that every proprietor of land in the marches, do reside thereon, or appoint a sufficient deputy so to do, on pain of losing his estate during his absence; and that all people near the marches, from sixteen to sixty be ready on warning, in their best defensible array, to defend the same.

XI. That no man compound for the death or murder of his friend or relation, nor revenge it but according to law.

XII. That no man keep fire-arms after proclamation, on pain of twenty pounds.

XIII. That it be treason to stir up the Irish to make war on the English, or any body to make war against the chief governor of Ireland.

XIV. That one of the realm of England be constable of the castle of Dublin, and the like of Trim, Lexlip, Rithfale, Wicklow, Green Castle, Carlingford, and Carrickfergus (repealed 11 Car. 1. c. 6.)

XV. An act concerning the records of Ulster, Connaught and Trim.

XVI. That the lords appear in their robes every parliament, on pain of one hundred shillings.

XVII. That no man shall make peace or war without the consent of the chief governor, on pain of one hundred pounds, &c.

XVIII. That no man take money or horse-meat by colour of gift, reward or otherwise, by
reason

reason of any menace ; and if he do, the giver is to forfeit an hundred shillings, unless he complains seasonably ; and the taker is to suffer the punishment appointed for the takers of Coigne and Livery.

XIX. That the soldier shall pay three half-pence a meal, and his man a penny, and a penny for six field-sheaves of oats, and litter accordingly ; and whosoever refuses to quarter soldiers at this rate, forfeits twelve-pence a time, unless he be a man of twenty marks estate *per annum*, and except cities and corporate towns,

XX. That the words Cromambo and Butlerabo, and such like words of faction, be abolished.

XXI. That wilful murder be high treason.

XXII. That all the statutes lately made in England concerning or belonging to the public weal, be henceforth good and effectual in Ireland.—
And

XXIII. That the statutes made by the lord Gormanstown aforesaid, be repealed and null.

Besides all this, it was enacted also by this parliament, That the lord treasurer should rule the kingdom in case of the death or surrender of the chief magistrate.—That the king should have a certain subsidy out of every six score acres of land.—That all the alienated possessions of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem should be resumed, another act was made for a farther resumption of crown lands, and one for attainting Kildare for corresponding with O'Hanlon and other misdemeanors (though he was afterwards cleared in England, as has been already recired) all which acts made this parliament famous, and deserve to be taken some notice of in history.

Perkin Warbeck, whom we left in Flanders, at a convenient time set sail from thence, and resolved to make a descent upon the coast of Kent ;

but the people of that county taking arms under pretence of joining him, fell upon a body of his followers whom he had sent on shore, and slew all of them except a hundred and fifty whom they sent prisoners to London, which Perkin viewing from his ships, hoisted sail immediately in order to return to Flanders, rejoicing that he had not hazarded his own person, as at first he intended to do, among those secret enemies.

After this the young adventurer landed in Munster; but Poynings having taken such prudent measures that he was not likely to derive any considerable assistance from the Irish, he altered his plan, and passed over to Scotland, where he so far gained upon king James that he undertook to defend his cause, and gave him the lady Catherine Gordon, his own kinswoman, the beautiful daughter of the earl of Huntly, in marriage, and, in consequence of his promise that prince did actually invade England in favour of Perkin, but as he found none of the Northern English joined him he contented himself with laying waste Northumberland, and at Henry's approach retreated with all speed in order to secure the booty he had taken which amounted to something very considerable.——

When Perkin was quite driven out of Ireland and the state of that country something regulated by the care of Poynings, the king recalling him, made him a knight of the Garter, and appointed Henry Dean, bishop of Bangor, chancellor of Ireland, lord justice in his room, in whose time Hugh O'Donnel having defeated O'Connor near Sligo, besieged the castle; but hearing that the Burks of Clanrickard were approaching, made a hasty retreat, on which they burned and destroyed his territories in revenge for the boldness of his attempt.

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In the mean time the earl of Kildare was kept prisoner in England, but gave such blunt and simple answers to the accusations laid to his charge, as induced Henry to think he was belied, because he seemed so artless: on which account he was not only set at liberty, but sent to Ireland lord lieutenant, which, it is said, was occasioned by one of his accusers saying "All Ireland cannot govern this man."—To which Henry, who did not want ready wit, replied, "Then is this man the more fit to govern all Ireland." And so, not willing to lose the jest, he made him chief magistrate accordingly.

When he arrived, he approved himself a loyal subject to the king, he took and razed the castles of several of the Irish who were in arms, and was reconciled to his old enemy the archbishop of Ardmagh.—By his advice the king pardoned those great men in Ireland who had espoused the cause of Perkin Warbeck, which was a very politic step, as it prevented them from engaging in another rebellion through despair:—Among these were the earl of Desmond, the archbishop of Cashell, the bishops of Cork and Waterford, and many others of the principal inhabitants of Munster, who probably did not expect such clemency at the hands of Henry,

A. D.
1496.

When, after many disputes and bickerings, the kings of England and Scotland at last came to an accomodation, Henry would not allow that Perkin should remain with his new protector, and James would not deliver up his guest to his enemy, it was therefore agreed that this young adventurer and his lady should be dismissed with honour and safety, and conveyed wherever they pleased, On which he chose to withdraw to Cork; but on his arrival there finding he had less than ever to expect from the Irish, after enlisting a few soldiers

diers, he accepted the invitation of some of the Cornish men, whom the weight of taxes had occasioned to take up arms, came over to head them, and took upon him the name and title of Richard the Fourth, king of England, &c.—And whether he were a prince or not, it is certain that he acted the part of one so well that if the land had not been ruled by one of the wisest kings that ever sat upon any throne, he would have stood a fair chance of succeeding. But Henry had so well established civil government, and so effectually clipped the wings of rebellion among the nobles by abolishing military followings, and other such regulations, and was withal so vigilant and so fortunate, that people were afraid to declare against him.—Nor would Perkin ever have had that body of men under his command, amounting to about six thousand, who now hailed him monarch of the island, and set him up in a kind of mock state, if the king's greatest vice and weakness, namely, his avarice, had not created a dislike to him among some of the people, who yet were generally kept far more under than they had been for the three or four preceeding reigns.

—But even when Perkin by taking this advantage had gathered this power together, he found himself unable to take Exeter, though he assaulted it with great fury, which dispiriting his followers, he raised the siege and withdrew to Taunton, where hearing that the royalists under the command of the lord Daubeney were in full march to give him battle, he stole away from his forces, and took refuge in the sanctuary of Beaulieu in Hampshire, on which the insurgents finding themselves abandoned by their leader, surrendered at discretion; some of the ringleaders were hanged and the rest were pardoned and dispersed.—The lord Daubeney afterwards took lady Catherine, the wife of Perkin,

Perkin, who being brought before king Henry won so much upon him by the beauty of her person, and the modesty of her deportment that he sent her to attend on the queen, and bestowed on her a considerable pension.

As for Perkin himself, a pardon being proffered him, he surrendered, and was conducted to London, through which city he rode amidst the hisses and derision of the populace, which he bore with great fortitude, while Henry viewed him from a window though he never would admit him into his presence. After this unworthy insult, he was committed prisoner to the tower, where his captivity was rendered rather easy to him from motives of policy, which served two ends; the first was that of obtaining a voluntary confession from him that he was an impostor; the second that of furnishing means at some future period of taking away his life with a colour of law and justice, whereby Henry, as he thought, might gratify all his own wishes, quiet his fears, and yet stand acquitted of the charges of cruelty and oppression. The substance of the confession, which was a strange one, was as follows:

“ I being born in Flanders, in the town of ^{Campion.} Turney, put myself in service with a Briton called Pregent Meno, the which brought me with him into Ireland, and when we were there arrived in the town of Cork, they of the town (because I was arrayed with some clothes of silk, of my said master's) threeped upon me that I should be the duke of Clarence's son, that was before time at Divelin; and forasmuch as I denied it, there was brought unto me the Holy Evangelists, and the Cross by the mayor of the town, called Ino Lavallin, and there I took my path, That I was not the said duke's son, nor none of his blood. After this, came to me an Englishman,

Englishman, whose name was Stephen Poytoun with one John Walter, and swore to me, That they knew well that I was king Richard's bastard son, to whom I answered with like oaths, that I was not: then they advised me not to be afraid, but that I should take it upon me boldly; and if I would do so, they would assist me with all their power against the king of England; and not only they, but they were assured that the earls of Desmond and Kildare should do the same, for they passed not what part they took so they might be avenged on the king of England; and so, against my will, they made me learn English, and taught me what I should do and say;—and after this they called me Richard duke of York, second son to Edward the Fourth, because king Richard's bastard son was in the hands of the king of England. And upon this, they entered into this false quarrel, and within short time after, the French king sent ambassadors into Ireland, viz. Lyot, Lucas, and Stephen Frayn, and so I went into France, and thence into Flanders, and thence into Ireland, thence into Scotland, and so into England again."

One cannot read the above with any degree of attention without perceiving that it is futile, vague, and even in some parts contradictory; and indeed it is strange that a man of Henry's penetration should not have observed it likewise. But perhaps the reason why he did not make an objection to the form of it, though the party that drew it up was in his hands, was that as he had given Perkins to understand he expected him to make a confession, but had left the manner of drawing it up to himself, in order to avoid the least imputation of compulsion, though it did not prove what it was expected to be, the same reason held good for letting the failure pass unnoticed.—But
whatever

whatever were Henry's motives, it is certain men were little satisfied with the arguments made use of in this instrument, and were rather confirmed than staggered in their belief of this impostor, if he really were one.—As the effects of men's evil actions often remain when they themselves are no more, so it happened with regard to Richard the Third. The mysterious manner in which he disposed of his brother's children occasioning all this confusion in a future reign. Indeed there have been many weighty reasons urged in modern times to prove that the person called Perkin was the real duke of York, though in that case it must be allowed very strange that he should have lain so long concealed.—But, without entering farther into this matter we may fairly conclude that whoever this pretender to the crown was, Henry himself was by no means assured he was an impostor, otherwise how came it that he did not endeavour to bring more striking proofs that he was so, as he had done in the case of Symnel, who was first set up in all probability only to sound the tempers of the people before the other made his appearance, most certainly the matter lay heavy upon the spirits of Henry, who at length caused both Perkin and the real earl of Warwick to be executed, while he prudently affected to despise the false one.

Historical
doubts, &c.

There is little more on record concerning the affairs of Ireland in this reign, except two or three inconsiderable skirmishes, and one great battle which Kildare fought in Connaught against Ulick Burk, and his Irish allies, and which the former certainly won; but it is not so certain that he could have slain nine thousand of the enemy in a battle that lasted some hours, without having one man on his own side either killed or wounded; yet this is the English account of the matter, which I shall

shall reject without scruple, as being partial, false, and absurd.

However, the earl had the order of the garter conferred upon him in return for his services, and remained lord justice at the death of Henry the Seventh, which happened at his palace at Richmond, in the year fifteen hundred and nine.

Henry VIII Arthur, the eldest son of the late king dying before his father, and leaving no issue, his second son succeeded to the crown by the name of Henry the Eighth, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, &c. in which latter country he chose to continue the great officers of state as they stood at his accession, as rightly judging that a change of them would be more likely to unhinge the government than to prove any way serviceable to its interests.

On this account, the succeeding year the earl was made lord deputy.—About the same period, marching into Munster with an army that he had levied for that purpose, he burned and ravaged the country, and took a great booty; but, on his return from this expedition, James earl of Desmond Turlough, O'Brian, and Mac William, a lord of the Burks fell in with him in the county of Limerick, and after a desperate battle, in which both parties suffered much, the latter obliged the lord deputy to make a retreat, which he was glad to do, his troops being fatigued and burdened with the spoil they had taken.—But the next spring he made a more successful expedition into Ulster.

All this time the animosity between the Geraldines and the Butlers had continued, which first took birth from faction, and afterwards was encouraged by envy.—And at one time it went so far, that James earl of Ormond, was obliged to fly to a church for a sanctuary; but Kildare permitting him

him to come out unharmed, a kind of reconciliation was made for that time between the two noblemen.—As to the lord deputy, he dying in fifteen hundred and fifteen, his son Gerald already lord treasurer succeeded him in his office, as it was enacted by parliament, and in the succeeding year he defeated several of the Irish chiefs, and obliged them to fly to their woods and bogs for shelter.

To him succeeded for a time, (probably as his substitute,) William lord Gormanston; but we hear of nothing worth note during his administration, but when Gerald returned, being made lord deputy by the king, he summoned a parliament, which passed some good acts for the ease and benefit of his majesty's subjects residing in Ireland.

After this the lord deputy invaded Imaly, slew Shane O'Tool, and then passed on to Clonmel and other places where he had equally good success; nevertheless some of the citizens of Dublin attempting to follow his steps were defeated and obliged to retreat with more haste than they had advanced to the charge.

This period was marked by great contentions between Sir Pierce Butler and Sir James Ormond, concerning the earldom of Ormond, which the former, though not the right heir, seized and would not allow the latter any thing towards his subsistence. The consequence of which was that Sir Pierce not enduring to see his wife, who was pregnant, reduced to the want of common necessities, lay in wait for Sir James, whom he killed with his spear, and enjoyed the estate peaceably ever afterwards.

In the mean time nothing was heard in England but complaints about the mismanagement of the earl of Kildare, who was recalled, and Thomas Howard, earl of Surry, substituted in his
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room, in whose time Con Buckagh O'Neal invaded Meath, but retired, on the lord lieutenant's approach, and afterwards sent to solicit a pardon, which accordingly was granted him. — And Surry was ordered to knight him, and the king sent him a collar of gold, and invited him over to England.

The earl of Kildare's accusers not being able to prove any thing against him in England, he was set at liberty, and attended Henry to France, where he was present at the pompous meeting between the two kings, which at that time made such a noise over Europe.

While Surry was chief magistrate, he gained many advantages over the Irish, whom it was pretended Kildare himself had stimulated to take up arms; but this was an assertion without proof.

Pierce, earl of Ormond, was the next lord deputy; and in his time O'Neal and O'Donnel wasted and spoiled each others lands in Munster, and could by no means be brought to a reconciliation, and, besides this, the plague raged in the island.

A. D. 1526. The earl of Kildare returning, there were great jealousies between him and the earl of Ormond, and a favourite of the latter's being slain by a follower of the former, on this occasion the complaints were renewed against Kildare; and afterwards were brought to a plain impeachment of treason, chiefly on account of his being supposed to favour his cousin, the earl of Desmond, in a rebellion he had planned.—And, in consequence of these matters, the earl went over again to answer to the charge in England.

When he came thither he was imprisoned in the tower; nevertheless he made a bold defence before cardinal Wolsey at the council board.

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In the mean time the earl had appointed his uncle Fitz Gerald his deputy in Ireland ; but he was obliged to surrender to Richard Nugent, lord of Delvin, who having suspended a pension that was formerly paid to O'Connor for making irruptions into the Pale, the Irish chief invited him to a conference in order to prefer his complaint ; but instead of that, he took the deputy prisoner, to whom Pierce, earl of Ossory succeeded ; but he could not get his predecessor's release granted by O'Connor, whereupon the pension was suspended by act of parliament.

But all this while, Kildare was supposed to carry on a secret correspondence with Desmond, by means of the lady Slane, his daughter ; and being at enmity with the deputy, every thing was exaggerated by means of the latter at the court of England, whither Kildare repairing, procured the present deputy to be superseded, and got himself appointed chief magistrate in his stead, but when he had got the power into his hands then he was rash enough to turn it against all those whom he esteemed his private enemies, confederating with the Irish against them, to burn and destroy their lands, and persuading his uncles to do the like ; the consequence of which was,—that he was impeached again in England, whither he would this time have excused himself from going, but when he found he must depart, he took care to fortify his castles, and being ordered by the king to leave a deputy, for whose conduct he could be answerable, he left his own son in that office, after giving him some good advice, which however he had not moderation enough to follow, the want of which proved his ruin, and that of his family.

For, some time after the earl's departure, a report being spread in Dublin that he was beheaded

in the tower, the young lord deputy immediately entered into a confederacy with O'Connor and others, and rode with an hundred and twenty armed men to Dublin, where entering the council chamber with this crowd at his heels, instead of taking his place at the board, when the members rose to receive him he thus addressed them :

“ However injuriously we be handled, and forced to defend ourselves in arms, when neither our service nor good meaning towards our prince's crown availeth ; yet say not hereafter, but in this open hostility which here we profess and proclaim, we have shewed ourselves no villains nor churls, but warriors and gentlemen. This sword of estate is yours and not mine ; I received it with an oath, and used it to your benefit : I should stain mine honour if I turned the same to your annoyance: Now have I need of mine own sword, which I dare trust ; as for the common sword, it flattereth me with a painted scabbard, but hath indeed a pestilent edge already bathed in the Geraldines blood, and now is newly whetted in hopes of a farther destruction. Therefore save yourselves from us, as from open enemies. I am none of Henry's deputies, I am his foe ; I have more mind to conquer than to govern ; to meet him in the field, than to serve him in office. If all the hearts of England and Ireland that have cause thereto would join in this quarrel, (as I hope they will) then should he soon be made sensible (as I trust he shall) of his tyranny and cruelty, for which the ages to come may lawfully score him up among the ancient tyrants, of most abominable and hateful memory.”

To which extraordinary speech the lord chancellor made the following reply :

“ My lord, Although hatred be commonly the handmaiden of truth, because we see him that plainly expresseth his mind, to be for the more part
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of most men disliked ; yet notwithstanding I am so well assured of your lordship's good inclination towards me, and your lordship so certain of my entire affection towards you, as I am emboldened (notwithstanding this company of armed men) freely and frankly to utter that which by me declared and by your lordship followed, will turn (God willing) to the avail of you, your friends, allies, and this country. I doubt not (my lord) but you know that it is wisdom for any man to look before he leap, and to sound the water before his ship hull thereon ; and namely, where the matter is of weight, there it behoveth to follow sound, sage, and mature advice : Wherefore (my lord) sith it is no may-game for a subject to levy an army against his prince, it lieth your lordship in hand to breathe longer on the matter, as well by forecasting the hurt, whereby you may fall as by revolving the hope by which you are fed. What should move your lordship to this sudden attempt, I know not ; if it be the death of your father, it is as yet but secretly muttered, not manifestly published ; and if I should grant you, that your zeal in revenging your father's execution were in some respect to be commended ; yet reason would that you suspend the revenge until the certainty were known. And were it that the report were true, yet it standeth with the duty and allegiance of a good subject (from whom I hope in God you mean not to disserve yourself) not to spurn and kick against his prince ; but contrariwise, if his sovereign be mighty, to fear him ; if he be profitable to his subjects, to honour him ; if he command, to obey him ; if he be kind, to love ; if he be vicious, to pity ; if he be a tyrant, to bear with him ; considering, that in such case it is better with patience to bow, than with stubbornness to break : For sacred is the name of a king, and odious is the

name of rebellion; the one from Heaven derived, and by God shielded; the other forged in hell and by the devil executed: and therefore whoso will observe histories, or weigh the justice of God in punishing malefactors, shall easily see that, albeit the sun shineth for a time on them that are in rebellion, yet such sweet beginnings are at length clasped up with sharp and sour ends. Now that it appeareth you ought not to bear armour against your king, it resteth to discuss whether you be able (though you were willing) to annoy your king: For if among mean and private foes, it be reckoned for folly in a secret grudge to profess open hatred, and where he is not able to hinder, there to shew a willing mind to hurt; much more ought your lordship, in so general a quarrel as this, that concerneth the king, that toucheth the nobility that appertaineth to the whole commonwealth, to foresee the king's power on the one side, and your force on the other, and then to judge if you be able to cope with him, and to put him beside the cushion; and not whilst you strive to sit in the saddle, to lose (to your own undoing) both the horse and the saddle.

“ King Henry is known to be, in these our days, so puissant a prince, and so victorious a worthy, that he is able to conquer foreign dominions; and think you that he cannot defend his own? He tameeth kings, and judge you that he may not rule his own subjects? Suppose you conquer the land, do you imagine that he will not recover it? Therefore (my lord) flatter not yourself over much; expose not so great affiance either in your troop of horsemen, or in your band of footmen, or in the multitude of your partakers, what face soever they may put now on the matter, or what success soever for a season they have,

have, because it is easy for an army to vanquish them that do not resist; yet hereafter, when the king shall send his power into this country, you shall see your adherents, like slippery changellings, pluck in their horns; and such as were content to bear you up by the chin, as long as you could swim, when they espy you sinking, they will, by little and little, shrink from you, and perchance will duck you over head and ears. As long as the gale puffeth full in your sails, doubt not but divers will cleave unto you, and feed on you, as crows on carrion; but if any storm happen to bluster, then will they be sure to leave you post alone sticking in the midst of sands, having least help when most need. And what will then ensue of this? The branches will be pardoned, the root apprehended, your honour distained, your house attainted, your arms reversed, your manours razed, your doings examined; at which time, God knoweth what a heart-burning it will be, when that with no colour may be denied; which without shame cannot be confessed. My lord, I pour not out oracles as a soothsayer; for I am neither a prophet nor son of a prophet: But it may be that I am some frantic Cassandra, being partner of her spirit in telling the truth, and partaker of her misfortune, in that I am not, (when I tell the truth) believed of your lordship, whom God defend from being Priamus.

“ Weigh therefore (my lord) the nobility of your ancestors; remember you father’s late exhortation; forget not your duty to your prince; consider the estate of this poor country; with what heaps of curses you shall be loaded, when your soldiers shall rifle the poor subjects, and so far endanger the whole realm, as they are not yet born that shall hereafter feel the smart of this uproar: You have not gone so far but you may turn home;

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the king is merciful; your offence, as yet, not over heinous, cleave to his clemency: abandon this headlong folly; which I crave in most humble wise of your lordship; for the affection you bear the country, and for the respect you have to your own safety, whom God defend from all traiterous and wicked attempts."

But this speech, how moving soever, had no other effect than occasioning Fitz Gerald to tell the chancellor, that he did not come thither to ask counsel, but to make them acquainted with his intentions, and on the whole, that he loved and revered his father, and would revenge his cause. —Having said this, he surrendered the sword and departed abruptly with his guards from the council chamber, being willing, if he were a rebel, at least to shew himself an open one.

Having thus declared war with his prince, thinking there was now no time to be lost, he first invaded Kilkenny, and afterwards Fingal, defeating a body of men that sallied out of Dublin to intercept some provisions, and killing eighty of them in the encounter. —Immediately upon this victory, Fitz-Gerald sent the citizens word, that though he could destroy Dublin, he would not, if they would suffer him to besiege the castle without any interruption on their part, which they accordingly agreed to, at the same time dispatching an account of the matter to the king, and having, besides furnished the castle with ammunition and provisions; but the archbishop not chusing to trust to the strength of the fortress, stole out in the night, and embarked for England, but the vessel being stranded at Clontarf, was forced to go to the village of Tortain, whither Fitz-Gerald and his uncles came soon after, and caused him to be taken out of bed and brought before him in his shirt, who supplicated them in the most moving terms to spare his life. On which Fitz-Gerald,

Gerald, turning away, said in Irish, *Ber woem a buddagb*, which signifies, "Remove the clown;" meaning, that the prisoner should be taken out of his sight; but some of his followers affecting to misunderstand their master, immediately fell upon the archbishop, and beat his brains out upon the spot. The rebels afterwards took captives some other persons of note, and having obtained the consent of the citizens of Dublin, set themselves to work to besiege the castle, and also committed great depredations in the country of Kilkenny. But alderman Herbert, who had been sent to the king, returning with encouragement from his majesty to the Dublin men to defend themselves, they made a resolution, That no faith was to be kept with traitors, and ordering the gates to be shut, fell upon the besiegers, some of whom they made prisoners. — Fitz-Gerald hearing of this, marched from Kilkenny towards Dublin, and in his passage took several children belonging to the people of that city, who were then at school in the country, and sent to expostulate with those who had broken the league, and to demand that his men should be set at liberty, which being refused, he detained the children in revenge, and begun to dispose matters for the renewal of the attack upon the castle, in which attempt however he was baffled and forced to retreat, his troops being routed in a sally of the English, and himself with difficulty escaping.

After this defeat, he sent again to treat with the citizens, making the following demands upon them:

I. That his men, whom they had taken prisoners should be released.

II. That the citizens should pay one thousand pounds in money, and five hundred pounds in wares.

III. That they should furnish him with artillery and ammunition.

IV. That they should make intercession with the king to obtain pardon for himself and his followers.

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To

To which the citizens returned this answer :

I. That they would release his men, if he would set their children at liberty.

II. That being impoverished by his wars, they could neither spare wares nor money.

III. That if he intended to submit, he could have no need of them.

IV. That they would make all the intercession they could, either by word or letter.

On which Fitz-Gerald agreed to the citizens terms, and the matter was so far settled. But though he hinted his intention of submitting, yet he stood in arms, taking and destroying things as in an enemy's country, and vanquished a re-inforcement that came from England, and were commanded by the two Hamertons, as they were on their road to Dublin.

— Soon after, besides many levies, Sir William Skeffington arrived at Dublin, who was appointed to take upon himself the office of lord deputy, and some of the English fleet encountering Brade the pyrate, ran his vessel on shore, and took himself and nine of his men, whom they sent prisoners to Dublin; on which Fitz-Gerald threatening to besiege Tredagh, Skeffington marched that way, proclaimed the late lord deputy a traitor, and staid in that quarter as long as he found it necessary to avert the danger.

In the mean time Fitz-Gerald, having seen that six strong castles he possessed in Ireland were well garrisoned and provided, went into Connaught, in order to strengthen himself by an alliance with the ancient natives; but whilst he was gone, the lord deputy laying siege to Minooth, that fortress surrendered to him by the perfidy of one Parese, who had made, what he thought, advantageous terms for himself with the besiegers; but as he had forgotten to stipulate for the safety of his person,

son, the lord deputy ordered his demands to be first paid him, and then had him executed as a traitor.

The surrender of this castle proved the ruin of Fitz-Gerald's affairs, for though he had concluded his intended alliance, yet had stayed too long about it for his interest; for his army, though it amounted to seven thousand men, being dispirited at what had happened, began to fall away from him; and the lord deputy afterwards defeating him in a pitched battle, he could no more appear at the head of any considerable body of troops, but carried on a piratical war, ruining and spoiling the country, till at length, being grown quite weary of this sort of life, he surrendered at discretion to Sir William Brereton, and rode with him to Dublin.

This prompt submission seems to have been made by Fitz Gerald, in hopes that by thus throwing himself voluntarily into the king's power he might in some measure atone for his rebellion; but he was deceived in Henry; for an opposition to the will of that prince in matters far less flagrant was not so easy to be forgiven; and as this revolt had vexed him to the heart, he resolved that the author of it should not escape his vengeance. He therefore ordered Fitz Gerald to be arrested on his way to Windsor, and he and his five uncles to be hanged, though three of them had long opposed their nephew's proceedings.—As to the old earl of Kildare, he died in prison of grief, as it is said, for his son's violent behaviour, who had neither loyalty sufficient to keep measures with his prince, nor prudence enough to retain that power in his hands, which might have rendered his attempts successful.—And thus ended this revolt, with great trouble to the king and his subjects on the one hand, and with

with the almost total ruin of a noble family on the other.

The lord deputy dying at Kilmanhaim, Leonard lord Grey succeeded to his place, during whose administration part of the army being ill-paid, mutinied, and some of the ringleaders of the insurrection were hanged, on which some regulations relative to the troops and other matters of importance were proposed and submitted to the judgment of the king and council.

—By this time king Henry having quarrelled with the pope on account of his holiness's disapprobation of his divorce from Catherine of Arragon, had banished the pontiff's authority out of England, and every where favoured the preachers of the new doctrine, one of whom, George Brown, was this year consecrated archbishop of Dublin.

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And besides this the king had sent commissioners into Ireland, to endeavour to banish the pope's authority out of that country, on which the archbishop above-mentioned sent the following letter to Cromwell, who was lord privy seal at that time in England :

My most honoured lord,

“ Your humble servant receiving your mandate by one of his highness's commissioners, hath endeavoured almost at the hazard of his life to procure the nobility and gentry to due obedience, in owning his highness for their supreme head, as well spiritual as temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Armagh, who hath been the main oppugner, and so hath withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy within his see and jurisdiction. He made a speech to them, laying a curse upon the people whosoever should own his highness's supremacy, saying, That this isle, as is in the Irish chronicle, *Insula Sacra*, belongs to none but the bishop of
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of Rome, and that it was the bishop of Rome's predecessors gave it to the king's ancestors.—
There are two messengers, by the priests of Ard-magh, and by that archbishop, now lately sent to the bishop of Rome. Your lordship may inform his highness, that it is necessary to call a parliament in this nation to pass the supremacy-act; for they do not much matter his highness's commission which you sent over. This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders, and as for their secular orders, they are, in a manner, as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass, or to pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue. The common people in this isle are more zealous in their blindness than the saints and martyrs were in the truth at the beginning of the gospel. I send to you, my very good lord, these things, that your lordship and his highness may consult what is to be done. It is feared O'Neil will be ordered by the bishop of Rome to oppose your order from the king's highness; for the natives are much in number within his power. I do pray the Lord Christ to defend your lordship from your enemies.”—

The parliament meeting in May was adjourned to Kilkenny, and afterwards to Cashell and to Dublin; but while the members of that assembly were busied in enacting, there were others of that country who were no less busy in breaking the laws, and amongst other things O'Connor took this opportunity of invading the Pale, to draw him from which the lord Trimletstown entering Ophaly burned and laid waste the country.

The parliament, in the mean time, after many prorogations and adjournments had passed the following acts :

I. An

I. An act for the attainder of the earl of Kildare and his associates.

II. An act confirming the king's marriage with Ann Bullen, and legitimating the issue of such marriage, as also making it treason to act or write, and a misprision of treason to speak against it, depriving the offender of the benefit of sanctuary; and settling the succession, (in which the princess Elizabeth was comprehended by name,) prescribing an oath to be taken respecting such settlement, which it was made misprision of treason to refuse.

III. An act relative to absentees, by which the estates of several noblemen and others were vested in his majesty.

IV. A suspension of Poyning's act.

V. An act confirming the king's ecclesiastical as well as civil supremacy, and declaring that there was a power vested in the king to reform and redress heresies, errors, &c.—And that his commissioners should take no proxies for their visitation; but convenient meat, drink, and lodging, on pain of four times the value.

VI. That there should be no appeals to Rome, on pain of preminure; and that the chancellor, with the consent of the two chief justices, the master of the rolls, and the vice-treasurer, or any two of them, might assign delegates to hear and determine all appeals to the chief governor.

VII. An act against slandering the king or queen, or their title, &c. and that those guilty of high treason should not have the benefit of sanctuary; and that treasons committed beyond sea might be tried in Ireland; and that all estates of inheritance should be forfeited for high treason.

VIII. That

VIII. That the clergy pay annates or first fruits, *i. e.* a year's profit, and pay or compound before possession: the chancellor, masters of the rolls, and vice-treasurer, or any two of them whereof the vice-treasurer to be one, or any others commissioned by the king, might compound and give instalments. That the bonds for first fruits should have the effects of bonds of the staple, and eight pence to be paid for a bond, and four pence for an acquittance, and no more.

IX. An act to vest in the king Sir Walter Delahide's lands in Carbury, in the county of Kildare.

X. That if the robber or felon be found guilty upon an indictment, by means or prosecution of the party robbed, that then he should have restitution as if it had been done upon an appeal.

XI. An act to suppress all tributes, pensions, and Irish exactions claimed by the Irish from towns or persons for protection.

XI. An act against the pope, to suppress his usurpations, and to make it premunire to defend or assert his usurped authority or jurisdiction; and that all persons, ecclesiastic, or laymen, that have office or benefice, should take the oath of supremacy mentioned in the act, and the refusal of the oath to be treason.

XIII. That the king and his heirs and successors for ever should have the twentieth part of the yearly profits, revenues, rents, farms, titles, offerings, and emoluments, spiritual and temporal, belonging to any archbishoprick, bishoprick, abbacy, monastery, priory, arch-deaconry, deanry, hospital, comandry, college, house collegiate, prebend, cathedral church, collegiate church, conventual church, parsonage, vicarage, chauntry, or free chapel, or other promotion spiritual, whatsoever.

XIV. That

XIV. That no subject should be shaved above his ears, or wear glibbs or crom-meals, *i. e.* hair on the upper lip; or linnen dyed in saffron, or above seven yards of linnen in their shifts; and that no woman wear any kirtle, or coat tucked up, or embroidered or garnished with silk, or couched or laid with usker, after the Irish fashion, and that no person wear mantles, coats, or hoods after the Irish fashion (except women, horse-boys, cow-boys, and soldiers, at the risings-out and hostings, which may all wear mantles) and that every body endeavour to learn the English language, and conform to the English fashion, &c.

XV. That benefices should not be given to any that could not speak English, (unless after four proclamations in the next market town to the benefice, on four several market days) a person that could speak English could not be got; but that then an honest able Irishman might be admitted, on his oath that he would do his utmost endeavours to learn the English language, and observe the English order and fashion, and teach those under him to do the like; and he was to keep an English school in his parish for that purpose, &c.

XVI. An act for the suppression of abbeys.

XVII. An act against transporting of wool and flocks.

XVIII. An act about the proof of testaments.

XIX. The act of faculties, prohibiting the subjects from paying any pensions, portions, Peterpence, or any other impositions for the use of the pope, and extinguishing and suppressing them for ever; and authorising commissioners appointed by the king to grant faculties and dispensations; as the archbishop of Canterbury did in England.

XX. That

XX. That Poyning's act be suspended.

XXI. An act for limitation of action on penal statutes, viz. that actions in the king's name be commenced within three years after the offence, and actions popular within one year.

XXII. An act for prostrating the wares on the river Berrow, &c.

XXIII. An act for uniting and annexing the parsonages and vicarages of Dungarvin, &c. to the crown.

XXIV. That no body should presume to lease corn whilst there were any stacks or ricks of corn in the field; and that every man that could keep his child at school should, at ten years of age, put him to handicraft or husbandry.

XXV. That the leases made, or to be made by the king's commissioners, viz. Saintleger, Pawlet, &c. be good and valid, any defect of inquisition or office, &c. notwithstanding.

XXVI. Lastly, An act for the first fruits of the great abbeys and monasteries, &c. which were not vested in the king by the above act."

James earl of Desmond succeeding to his father, began to occasion more troubles at this time in Munster; but he received several checks from the lord Butler, who wasted his lands and proceeded to reduce several places; although a mutiny among his troops put him afterwards to many straits, and in a great measure prevented him from reaping the fruits of his enterprise. Another expedition he made into Connaught met with little success. It was undertaken against O'Connor, who had made such depredations as amounted to the damage of five thousand marks; yet the lord deputy being hindered by the heavy rains from prosecuting his designs, compounded for eight hundred beeves, or six and eight pence for each in money in their room.

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After this, receiving instructions from the English court to force all the Irish to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and to contribute men and money towards the support of the government, he made a progress through several of their territories, where he obtained the submission of many of them, whom he bound by oath and indenture, yet when he sent Henry, an account of his success, that prince is said to have observed that these oaths and indentures were of little worth, because they had not given hostages for the keeping of them.

Then commissioners were appointed to treat with the earl of Desmond, at Clonmel, but he refusing to enter a walled town, according to the ancient privilege granted his family, they were obliged to treat with him in his camp, where they received his oaths and submission, and Phelim Roe and Mac Murrough, and at length, O'Neal followed their example; but it was not till the fear of the lord deputy's forces reduced him to do so; however, his submission was received, and he swore to fight for the king against the whole world.

Afterwards commissioners were sent over to enquire concerning the abettors of the late rebellion, who were empowered to grant general pardons, and to be assistant to the lord deputy and council in settling the revenue; and, in the February following, the earl of Ossory whose family was at enmity with the lord deputy, was restored to the title of earl of Ormond.

In the mean time the deputy intended an expedition against O'Reyley, which his submission preventing, he marched against one Savage, into Ards and Lecale, took several castles, and wasted and destroyed the country, not sparing even the churches and their sacred ornaments, nor the monuments dedicated to the memory of departed worthies;—but the chief magistrate, being thus busied, O'Connor and

and O'Toole entered the Pale, and in their turn carried desolation wherever they came; however the deputy hearing of this, marched into Ophaly, and subdued O'Brian and Cahir O'Connor, one of whom submitted in the open field, and the other came and took his oaths at Dublin, at which success he was so much elated, that he told the king in his letters, That he was now so well acquainted both with the country and with the nature of the Irish, that if he had but money sent him he could manage them just as he pleased; yet the business of the supremacy seems to have gone on but slowly there; and, in effect, most of the native Irish were as far as ever from a real submission.

A commission had come over at that period from the pope, prohibiting the inhabitants of the country from owning Henry's supremacy, and fixing a curse upon all such as should not, within forty days, own that they had done amiss if they had ever taken it. — The tenor of the instrument sent over was as follows:

“ I A. B. from this present hour forward, in the presence of the blessed Trinity, the blessed Virgin Mother of God, &c. shall and will be always obedient to the holy see of St. Peter of Rome, and to my holy lord the pope of Rome and his successors, *in all things, as well spiritual as temporal*, not consenting in the least that his holiness shall lose the least title or dignity belonging to the papacy of our mother church, or to the regality of St. Peter.

“ I do vow and swear to maintain, help, and assist the just laws, liberties, and rights of the mother church of Rome.

“ I do likewise promise to confer, defend, and promote, if not personally yet willingly as in ability able, either by advice, skill, estate, money, or otherwise, the church of Rome and her laws, against *all whatsoever* resisting the same.

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“ I farther vow to oppugn all heretics, either in making or setting forth edicts or commands contrary to the mother church of Rome ; and in case any such be made or composed, to resist it to the uttermost of my power, with the first convenience or opportunity I can possibly.

“ I count all acts, made or to be made, by heretical powers, of no force, nor to be practised or obeyed by myself, or by any other son of the mother church of Rome.

“ I do farther declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest and dearest relations, friends or acquaintances whatsoever ACCURSED, that either do or shall obey, for the time to come, any of her the mother church’s opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same of which I have here sworn unto. — So God, the blessed Virgin, &c. help me.”

And the form of this oath was sent over to the lord Cromwell in England ; whereby the king might be well apprized of their intentions, that struck directly at the root of his favourite act of supremacy, which he was determined in all his realms to maintain.

A letter from the bishop of Mets was soon after found upon a Franciscan friar (who being confined, had murdered himself in the castle of Dublin) which was directed to O’Neal, exciting him to suppress all heresy as far as lay in his power, in which it was laid down as a maxim, “ That while the mother church had so worthy a son as himself, and those that should succour and join him, it was not doubted by the cardinals but that she would never fall, but have more or less holding in Britain in spite of fate.”

O’Neal

O'Neal, who was thus pitched upon as a champion of their cause, thought he should defend it best by making incursions into the Pale, which he accordingly invaded in conjunction with O'Donnel, Mac Ginnis, O'Hanlon, and others, and carried fire and sword through the country. But the lord deputy sent to England for aid, and then mustered an army, with which he encountered and defeated O'Neal's forces, and recovered all the booty they had taken; but whilst he was absent in Ulster, O'Connor and O'Tool invaded the Pale likewise; and besides, a sickly autumn and a severe winter helped to depopulate the country.

The next lord justice, when lord Grey was removed, was Sir William Brereton, who found things in a bad situation in his government, most of the Irish potentates owning themselves the pope's champions; many of whom being joined in one confederacy, which was chiefly conducted by O'Neal, O'Brien, O'Donnel, and O'Carrol, met in West Meath; but the lord justice having diligently levied an army to oppose them, we find that they thought proper to desist from their design, and for the most part to withdraw to such places where they knew they could not be attacked, without manifest danger and disadvantage to the assailants. But yet the lord justice followed O'Connor into Ophaly, where he reduced him so far as to oblige him to give his own son as an hostage for his future good behaviour.

To this lord justice succeeded Sir Anthony Saintleger, who took much pains in attending to the affairs of the revenue, which, with proper assistance, he is said to have brought into much better order than it was in during his predecessor's administration; and therefore he certainly deserved some share of praise, a good financier being at that time, at least as serviceable as a good general to the government of Ireland.

While these things were passing there, the lord Grey, after all his good services, was followed into England by some of his enemies, who, notwithstanding the king's good reception of him at his arrival, got him afterwards imprisoned in the tower, exhibiting a long accusation against him, the strength of which rested chiefly upon the following allegations:

First, that O'Connor feasted him, and mended Taghereroghan for him, and that in favour of O'Molloy, a rebel, he took a castle from Dermot O'Molloy, whose father-in-law O'Carrol, was a good subject; for which the lord Grey had a bribe, and Stephen ap Harry had twenty cows.

Secondly, That he took the castle of Bir from a loyal O'Carol, and gave it to a rebel O'Carol, who married the earl of Kildare's daughter; and also took Moderhem, a castle belonging to the earl of Ormond and gave it to the rebel O'Carrol, and wasted the earl of Ormond's lands; for which he had an hundred and forty kine, and Stephen ap Harry had forty, and Gerald Mac Gerrot had a black hackney.

Thirdly, That he took forty kine from O'Kennedy, a tenant of the earl of Ormond's, and his son for hostage.

Fourthly, That he held secret and private correspondence with James of Desmond, and went to visit him in his tent in his night gown, and forced the abbot of Owny to give him forty pounds sterling to preserve the abbey from ruin; and O'Brian to give him thirty kine, and hostages; and Ulick Burk, a bastard, gave him one hundred marks to have Ballinacleteere castle, and to be made Mac William; and that he carried the artillery in a small vessel to Galway, and made the town of Galway pay thirty-four pounds for that carriage.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, That the exploits at Brian's Bridge, &c. were in favour of O'Brian, a rebel, Desmond's son-in-law, and to the prejudice of Donough O'Brian, a good subject; and that he took a bribe of eighty kine from Macnemarra.

Sixthly, That trusting Desmond and O'Brian, he hazarded the king's army in a long and dangerous journey, wherein Desmond quarrelled and deserted him, and O'Brian sent but one man with a battle axe to guide him.

Seventhly, That he rifled the abbey of Ballyclare, and left neither chalice, cross, nor bell in it.

Eighthly, That he destroyed the castles of Lecagh and Derriviclaghny in favour of Ulick Burk, though the rightful proprietor offered submission and rent to the king.

Ninthly, That he had secret conference with, and received a horse from O'Connor Roe, who was the chief instrument in conveying away the young Fitz Gerald.

Tenthly, That he took eighty kine from O'Maddin, and forced O'Malghlin's son from Mr. Dillon, whose lawful prisoner he was, for which he had seventy kine.

He was also accused of his partiality to his nephew Fitz Gerald, afterwards earl of Kildare.—It was alledged that his servants pillaged the gentlemen of Munster, who entertained them.—That he had, by means of false promises, for which he had no commission, prevailed on Thomas Fitz Gerald to submit, in order to destroy him; that his own nephew might succeed to the earldom of Kildare.—And he was likewise charged with a sacrilege at Down, that appeared only to be added to swell the number of accusations, which upon the whole are far from seeming to be either consistent, or well supported.

It may not be amiss here to observe, once for all, That most of the impeachments of the governors,

vernors and great men of English extraction in Ireland generally took their first rise from private piques and animosities, though the effect of that was indeed sometimes, as in the case of the earl of Kildare, that of making a rebel of a good subject.—If any one would wish to trace these evils to their source, he will find them to arise from the manner of conducting the government of the country. Let such an one remember, that (as has been already stated,) the land was first conquered by private adventurers, whose power easily rendered them not only independant of each other, but in a great measure of their prince, or, which was much the same, of his viceroy or deputy.—Let it be observed, That notwithstanding the introduction of a code of English laws into the Pale, most of these chiefs behaved much like feudal lords; or to speak plainly, being surrounded with petty monarchs or sovereigns of the country, they wished to become petty sovereigns themselves.—They imitated those in their sway, and they imitated them likewise in their manners, often making wars as motives of revenge or still more powerful interest prompted them, which fell upon the Irish or upon their own countrymen, as opportunity served; by which means those who should have set an example of good government became plain instances of the country.—If it be asked how it came that the kings of England did not redress these grievances for so many ages? The answer is obvious—They did endeavour so to do, when they had opportunity; but they were generally too far removed to be able to complete so salutary a work. Besides, when some of them objected to the frequent feuds in Ireland, —If these were raised by the natives against each other, they were told, That it was right to suffer the rebels to destroy each other.—If by the English against the natives, even though without cause,

cause,—It was expedient to humble those revolt-ers, and put it out of their power to injure his majesty's liege subjects.—And even if the accusation lay against the Englishmen for attacking Englishmen, there was always some flaw found out by the parties, either in regard to the adversary's title or character; whilst the real truth was, that generally speaking there was an almost universal corruption of manners amongst the great men resident there, in regard of what related to assaulting and plundering other people; insomuch that both parties in cases of this kind, would call in the native Irish to their assistance, do all they could towards the improvement of the latter in arms and discipline, teach them how to despise those whom once they stood in awe of, and afterwards wonder that they neither could make friends nor subjects of those men to whom they had set so bad an example.—In the mean time, through the course of many succeeding reigns, though the chief governors had exacted the oaths of allegiance from the Irish, and put them often to death as rebels and traitors, when taken in arms against the English; yet the English laws, to say the most of them, extended no farther than the Pale, and the Irish were so far from being considered as bound by them, that they could not be admitted to share in their benefits, when they repeatedly and earnestly desired it.—All these things then it must be owned contributed to the evils that reigned in the kingdom. And on this account, it was rare for a great lord or officer to be blameless, if there were an enemy found to accuse him.—To such policy as this it is likely that the lord Grey fell a victim, who being executed upon the charges above-mentioned, his estate was seized for king Henry's use, who seldom cared how dearly his subjects paid for such a purchase. But to return to the affairs of the history.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

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A. D.
1540.

Sir William Brereton, marshal of Ireland, being sent into Munster to take the submission of the earl of Desmond, died at Kilkenny, before he could execute his commission;—notwithstanding which the earl came according to appointment, renewed his oath of allegiance, took that of supremacy likewise, renounced his privilege of not appearing in parliament, and gave his son as hostage for the performance of his promise, which he finally renewed before the lord deputy and the council, and agreed to pay such taxes to government as the other nobles usually did.—Hugh Burk also made his submission about the same time, and in the same manner; and likewise covenanted by indenture to pay the king forty pounds for the command of the Burks country, as also to raise and maintain a certain number of Gallowglasses and horsemen, for six weeks, for the king's service, and to keep his whole force together for the space of three days, at any time for the same purpose, whenever the lord deputy should require it.—And several other chieftains followed his example, took the oaths, and submitted to pay taxes to the government.—And the parliament meeting at Dublin, after several prorogations, having established a number of good laws, among which was one whereby Henry and his successors, instead of lords, were declared kings of Ireland, was dissolved this year in the month of November.

A. D.
1543.

But notwithstanding all the care of the king, his deputy, and the parliament, it appears that the designs of the pope still went forward in Ireland, and the jesuits were introduced into the country to support his power, while the opposers of it were busied in exacting the oaths of supremacy of all such of the natives as made their submission to the English government.—Commissioners
were

were likewise appointed to decide the controversies in every province, in the room of the Brehons; and most of the Irish chiefs submitting, many of them applied to court for patents and titles.—The most remarkable Irishman of this kind was O'Neal, who came over to England with the bishop of Clogher and a numerous train of attendants, and being received by the king at Greenwich, surrendered up his estate, and agreed to the following articles.

That he should renounce the name of O'Neal.—That he and his followers should adopt the English manners, language, and habit.—That their children should learn English.—That they should build houses, and husband their land in the English manner.—That they should obey English laws, and not cels their tenants, nor entertain a greater number of Gallowglasses than should be approved of by the lord deputy.—And, That they should answer all general hostings, in the same manner as those of the Pale did, and should not yield succour to the king's enemies.

These terms being ratified, this great Irish chieftain had his estate returned to him by patent, and was created earl of Tyrone, with remainder to his son Matthew; and two of his followers were knighted; the bishop of Clogher was confirmed, and the earl himself, after his return to Ireland, was sworn one of the privy council of that nation.

The earl of Desmond coming over, and making his submission, likewise met with the same treatment, and, as well as the earl of Tyrone, returned with orders to be admitted of the privy council of Ireland.

The O'Birnes likewise came into terms, and desired their country might be reduced into a county, by the name of the county of Wicklow,—a request which however seems strange, if we consider their

their manners and the sway they bore among the native Irish.—O'Brian and Ulick Burk likewise came in; the former obtained a grant of all the lands in Thomond, and the latter was made earl of Clanrickard.—The king likewise, in order to encourage them to appear at the Irish court, granting to the said earl of Clanrickard, as well as to the earls of Tyrone, Desmond, and Thomond, a house and a parcel of land each, adjacent to the city of Dublin.

The lord deputy being recalled, Sir William Brabazon was sworn lord justice in his room, in the thirty-fifth year of Henry the Eighth, and to him were sent new seals, the old ones being recalled, which was done on account of the alteration in the king's style from that of Lord to King of Ireland; which change, it was supposed, would fix many who wavered in their allegiance.

But Sir Anthony Saintleger, who for his good services had been made a knight of the garter, now succeeded as lord deputy, who, by a very wise policy, endeavoured to break the dependancies of the Irish families one upon another, and among the rest, he took care to break that of O'Donnell upon O'Neal, and obliged them to submit their disputes to his decision. During his administration the Irish sent fifteen hundred men to the assistance of the earl of Lenox, who was favoured by king Henry in an attempt to recover his inheritance in Scotland; nevertheless, being disappointed in some expectations of assistance in that country, their army returned home without having effected the purpose for which they were designed.

But though all things at this time appeared to wear a face of peace and tranquility in the country, yet it seems many of the Irish were desirous of renewing those disturbances by which all parties had suffered so much, and had absolutely made application

plication to the king of France for that purpose, offering to become his subjects if he would effectually succour them against the English. This prince over the bishop of Valence to treat with them, and see what was to be done in the affair, who was lodged at the house of one O'Dogharty, where he met with but little good cheer, and, as it is said, intending to seduce the Irishman's daughter, was seduced into an amour with a harlot, who destroyed for him a pot of precious balm, which he valued at two thousand crowns, and which was the means, by the ecclesiastic's anger, of exposing the amour. —Afterwards he had a private conference with O'Neal, and departed with overtures to the French king; but whether it were that the bishop was not pleased with his treatment, or that going afterwards to Rome, he found it impracticable to separate the pope from the interests of the emperor, this great negotiation came to nothing.

Though I have related this story as I found it, yet I cannot help thinking the fact a little suspicious. That the Irish were at that time endeavouring to call in the assistance of foreign powers, is not so improbable; but the affair of the bishop, the harlot, and the pot of balm, is rather a little romantic, and seems calculated to throw a scandal on the pretensions of the ecclesiastics to chastity and a life of celibacy; and the whole treaty seems to have been carried on, according to the description, in a very confused and impolitic manner; nevertheless I do not pretend to say the relation is false; I only think it is improbable.

Certain it is, that the natives at this time began again their depredations upon each other, which were generally the prelude to a revolt against the English; who, on their part, were not without their private quarrels and disputes.—The exchequer being empty, and the lord deputy intend-
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ing to replenish it by levying a new tax, he was opposed by the earl of Ormond; whereupon, resolving to impeach each other, they both went over to England, which journey proved fatal to the latter; for though the king reconciled their differences, yet Ormond and thirty-five of his servants were poisoned either by accident or design, (most likely by the latter) as they were feasting at a house in Holborn.

A. D.
1546.

Sir William Brabazon was then sworn lord justice.—And Patrick and Brian O'Connor invaded Kildare, and burned Athy; but the lord justice pursuing them, obliged O'Connor to fly into Connaught for safety.—And during his administration the same necessities of government, which had given birth to the proposal above-mentioned of levying new taxes, now occasioned the king to coin base mixed money, and stamp it for currency in Ireland, a method more disagreeable than the other, and which occasioned great murmurings both among the soldiery and the people

Sir Anthony Saintleger returning, succeeded Sir William Brabazon in his office, Sir Richard Read, who came with him, being made lord chancellor.—And this was the state of the government of Ireland at the death of king Henry the Eighth, which happened on the twenty-eighth day of January, in the fifty-sixth year of his reign, and the eightieth of his age.

This prince, who came to the throne at a very happy period, was at first a prodigal, and at last a tyrant. Out of six wives he repudiated two, two he beheaded, one died in child-bed, and one survived him.—In the beginning of his reign, his chief minister was cardinal Wolsey (the son of a butcher at Ipswich) who, though proud and overbearing, and justly disliked by the nobility, had probably more virtues than his master, *less* have seldom fallen to the

the share of any christian prince or potentate. This Wolsey he discarded and disgraced, not for his crimes, for in these he himself was often too deeply concerned, but for opposing his marriage with Anne Bullen, whom, notwithstanding, Henry afterwards beheaded.

After having written a book in favour of the Roman church, against the errors (as he called them) of Martin Luther, he broke with that church and avowed nearly the same doctrines, with Luther though in his heart he scarcely believed them, because the pope would not allow of his divorcement from his law ful and much injured queen Catherine of Arragon.

The sums which the seventh Henry had amassed by his avarice, Henry the Eighth quickly dissipated by his profusion, and then set his engines to work to squeeze more from his subjects by the most arbitrary and wicked extortion.—It was to his rapaciousness, not to his virtue or his wisdom, that the dissolution of the monasteries was owing; it was to his love of tyrannic sway, not to his just sense of christian liberty that his renunciation of the pope's supremacy must be attributed; and though both these measures were certainly excellent ones, and must be allowed to be productive of the greatest good to these kingdoms, yet he deserves no praise for them, because he absolutely had no other motive for bringing them about than his own private interests.

If ever he seemed to exhibit any signs of virtue, there was the greatest reason to believe it like his learning, to be all mere ostentation; if ever he shewed any regard for true religion, there was the same reason to conclude that it was only hypocrisy; and as to tenderness, he was in his nature so much a stranger to it, that if ever he practised it in the least degree, it seemed as if he had forgotten himself.

His behaviour towards Cromwell in England, and the Fitz Gerald's in Ireland, were alone sufficient to have stamped him tyrant; but what a number of other

other oppressions he added to these, the annals of his own country and reign will sufficiently testify; yet this was the great reformer of England and Ireland, this was the prince to whom both nations bowed; though the former had often removed monarchs whose crimes were no more to compare to Henry's than scarlet to the snowy fleece. To say truth, without either the wisdom or qualifications of his father, he found means to tyrannise more effectually; but the reasons were, First, that Henry the Seventh had laid the foundation of his power by humbling the nobles and the people did not yet feel their own power and consequence—Secondly, That the parties which at this time divided the nation thought it their interest to court him, whereby he was enabled to rule them all with a rod of iron—Probably had he lived at any other period his tyranny would have been but of short duration in such a country as England, and his life, instead of being surrendered up on a royal couch, would have been taken from him in a dungeon or on a public scaffold.

If any think this character too strongly marked; if at the same time they are not bigotted by religious or party prejudice, let them read his acts, and judge for themselves; let them see how much innocent blood he shed, how many fell victims to his ambition, lust, or avarice, how many protestants and papists indiscriminately were sacrificed to the rage of one, who at last died a papist or nothing, and they will not think that those speak too hardly of him, who say, that he was a wicked prince, a bad husband, and a still worse christian.

Edward VI. Dying, he was succeeded on the throne by his only son Edward, whom he had by Jane Seymour.—This prince was proclaimed at the age of nine years, by the style of Edward the Sixth, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland.—Edward Seymour his uncle by the mother's side was made protector of the
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the kingdom, and the young prince was crowned at Westminster, on the twentieth day of February, in the year fifteen hundred and forty-six.

He continued Saintleger lord justice, in the government of Ireland, and afterwards made him lord deputy, by whom the new monarch was proclaimed in the latter end of February; Sir Richard Read was first made lord keeper, and afterwards lord chancellor, the earl of Desmond was constituted lord treasurer of Ireland, and the privy council was sworn on the seventh day of April.

A change of government the Irish thought too fair an opportunity of making an insurrection, to be by any means passed by, and therefore the O'Birnes made an insurrection, in which however they proved unsuccessful, being repulsed by the lord deputy, and having their captain slain, two of the Fitz-Geralds likewise who had been formerly prescribed, were now brought prisoners to Dublin and there executed.—Patrick O'More and Brian O'Connor having invaded Kildare, received likewise a check from the same quarter, and having lost two hundred men were obliged to save themselves by flight.

In the mean time, the English government fearing an union between the old and new Irish and a total defection of that kingdom, sent over Sir Edward Bellingham with a re-inforcement of six hundred horse and four hundred foot, who landing at Waterford, invaded Leix and Ophaly, proclaimed O'More and O'Connor traitors, and at length obliged them to make submission, at the same time that Brabazon, in spite of the opposition of the chief men of Connaught, caused the castle of Athlone to be repaired and garrisoned with a proper force.

Yet even in the Pale, two sons of the lord Baltinglass were about raising an insurrection which might have proved of dangerous consequence, if the presence of the lord deputy had not put a stop to it.——And indeed he was obliged
to

to be very vigilant at this time, since the progress of the new religion in England becoming such that it began to be carried farther than in Henry's time, many of the subjects in Britain would not submit, but raised tumults upon this account, and the Irish were still more averse to the innovation which disposition of theirs in after-times produced most deplorable consequences in their country.

Sir Edward Bellingham, who went over to England, to give an account of the submission of the county of Kildare, being now sent back lord deputy, marched into Leix and Ophaly, forced Cahir O'Connor to a submission, destroyed the country of Macloghlans, and enlarged the English Pale. But one Sir Francis Brian, marshal of Ireland, according to the custom too prevalent among the great officers of that nation, thought fit to impeach the lord deputy, who to answer the matters alledged against him was obliged to go over in person to England.

While these things were passing, the old Irish quarrelled with each other in some parts of the country, and with the English in others; and Cormac Roe O'Connor, who after a submission to the government, revolted again, was taken and hanged at Dublin.

The lord deputy had surprised the earl of Desmond in his own house, (who though he was lord high treasurer, yet lived after the manner of the mere Irish) because he refused upon a summons to repair to Dublin at so critical a time; however, he received the king's pardon, and was otherwise so well treated, that he is said to have been thankful for the force used with him, which preserved him from falling into greater ills.

The deputy and council likewise settled some differences which were referred to their arbitration by the earl of Tyrone, Phelim Roe O'Neal, and others,

others, and ordered independency on O'Neal.—O'Donnel and his sons applying on account of a like dispute O'Donnel's authority was limited.

Some parties of the Scotch invading Ulster, were at this time defeated by Andrew Brereton, and peace restored in that province.—And the lord deputy preparing to go over to England had the offer of testimonials of his good administration from the government; but he, resting his fate entirely on the innocence of his conduct, he refused them, and would most probably have cleared himself of any thing that might have been laid to his charge, if death intervening had not at once prevented the malice of his enemies, and his innocence from appearing.

Sir Francis Brian was chosen lord justice by the council, but died on an expedition against some revolvers in the county of Tipperary, on which Sir William Brabazon was elected, who made a journey to Limerick, where he reduced O'Carrol to submission, who renouncing his title to the barony of Ormond, and surrendering up his own lands to the king, had the latter restored to him, and was created baron of Ely, and Mac Murrough O'Kelly, and O'Maghlin were by his means pardoned and also taken into protection. But Charles Mac Art Cavenagh being in arms, was pursued by the deputy, who wasted his country, and killed several of his followers.

A French fleet was at this time shipwrecked on the coast of Ireland, the destination of which was to succour the Scotch; but the English governor finding they had a navy on foot, stationed twenty vessels to guard two of the harbours on the Irish coast, in order to prevent the evil designs of their neighbours.

Sir Anthony Saintleger, lord deputy, returned ^{Ware.} to Ireland, and Thomas Cusack was made lord

chancellor, and Mac Carthy, making a submission to Saintleger, was pardoned. It was very remarkable, that Arthur Mac Gennis being, by means of the pope made bishop of Dromore, was confirmed so by the king, whilst, on the other hand, Thomas Lancaster, a protestant, was made bishop of Kildare.

But the king, notwithstanding these matters, sent over an order for the English liturgy to be read in that language in the kingdom of Ireland, the form of which was as follows :—

“ WHEREAS our gracious father, king Henry the Eighth of happy memory, taking into consideration the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful subjects sustained under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, as also the ignorance the commonalty were in, how several fabulous stories and lying wonders misled our subjects in both our realms of England and Ireland, grasping thereby the means thereof into their hands, also dispensing with the sins of our nations, by their indulgences and pardons for gains, purposely to cherish all ill vices, as robberies, rebellions, thefts, whoredom, blasphemy, idolatry, &c.—He, our gracious father, king Henry, of happy memory, hereupon dissolved all priories, monasteries, abbeys, and other religious houses, as being but nurseries for vice and luxury, more than for sacred learning. Therefore, that it might more plainly appear to the world, that those orders had kept the light of the gospel from his people, he thought it most fit and convenient for the preservation of their souls and bodies, that the holy scripture should be translated and placed within all the parish churches in his dominions for his faithful subjects to increase their knowledge of God, and our saviour Jesus Christ.—WE therefore for the general benefit of our well beloved subjects

jects understandings, whenever assembled or met together in the said several parish churches, either to pray or to hear prayers read; that they may the better join therein in unity, heart, and voice, *have caused the Liturgy and prayers of the church to be translated into our mother tongue of this realm of England*, according to the assembly of divines lately met within the same for that purpose.—

We therefore will and command, as also authorise you, Sir Anthony Saintleger, knight, our viceroy of that our kingdom of Ireland to give special notice to all our clergy, as well archbishops, bishops, deans, arch-deacons, as others, our secular parish-priests within that our said kingdom of Ireland, to perfect, execute, and obey this our royal will and pleasure accordingly.”—

On the receipt of this order, however, Saintleger called an assembly of the archbishops, bishops, and all the clergy of Ireland, to whom he communicated both his majesty's order, and the opinions of such of the clergy of England as had consented to it, adding, that it was his majesty's will and pleasure, consenting to their serious considerations and opinions, then acted and agreed on in England, as to ecclesiastical matters, that the same should be in Ireland so likewise celebrated and performed.—George Dowdal, the primate of Ardmagh, on this arose, and observed, if this order should take place then every illiterate priest would take upon him to read the service. But Sir Anthony retorted this answer upon him, replying,—“No; your grace mistakes; for we have too many illiterate priests amongst us already, who neither can pronounce the Latin, nor know what it means, any more than the common people that hear them; but when the people shall hear the Liturgy in English, they and the priest will then understand what they pray for.”

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And,

And after some more altercation Dowdal and several of the suffragan bishops under him retired, only the bishop of Meath staying with the rest of the clergy then assembled. Then Sir Anthony took up the order, and holding it out to George Brown, archbishop of Dublin, (who received it standing up) said, "This order, good brethren, is from our gracious king, and from the rest of our brethren, the fathers and clergy of England, who have consulted herein, and compared the holy scriptures with what they have done; unto whom I submit, as Jesus did to Cæsar [A strange simile, but spoken according to the spirit of those times] in all things just and lawful, making no question, Why, or, Wherefore, as we own him our true and lawful king."

And in consequence of this order, we find that the liturgy in the English tongue was read in Christ Church Dublin, on the Easter-Sunday ensuing, archbishop Brown preaching a sermon from this text, *Open thou mine eyes that I may see the wonders of thy law.*—But, however it happened, the archbishop and the deputy not agreeing, the former preferred some complaints against the latter, on which he was recalled, and Sir James Crofts made lord deputy in his room, who received the following instructions:

To propagate the worship of God in the English tongue, and to get the service translated also into Irish in those places which needed it.—To prevent the sale of bells, church goods, chantry-lands, &c. To execute the laws justly.—To collect the revenue carefully, and to muster the army honestly.—To get the ports into the king's possession, that his customs might be duly answered.—To search for an allum mine.—To lett the king's lands, especially those of Leix and Ophaly, for twenty-one years to such persons as would reside upon

upon them.—To enquire into the conveniences for building ships in Ireland.—To endeavour to persuade the nobility to exchange some Irish lands for the like value in England.—Not to suffer soldiers to be sued, except before the deputy or mareschal; but if justice were not done within three months time, then to remit them to the common law,—To allow trade to all foreigners, even though enemies.—And above all, to reduce the Birnes and Tooles, and their country.

This lord deputy being a firm protestant, endeavoured to persuade Dowdal to comply with the order about the liturgy, which when he absolutely refused to do, the king and council of England deprived him of the title of *Primate of all Ireland*, which they annexed to the see of Dublin; on which Dowdal quitted the country, and Hugh Goodacre was made archbishop of Ardmagh in his room.

In the mean time, the lord deputy marched his troops into Ulster, against the Scotch islanders, and the isle of Raghlin was also invaded by the English, who, however, were obliged to retreat with the loss of one of their ships, and several men, amongst whom was captain Bagnal, who was afterwards exchanged for one Mac Donald, then prisoner in Dublin;—and so ended that expedition.

When the lord deputy returned out of Ulster, Matthew, baron of Dungannon, son of O'Neil, earl of Tyrone (who had made his submission to Henry VIII.) complained against his father, on which the latter was imprisoned, and Matthew was assisted by the English with some troops to subdue his brothers, who were in arms against him on this account; but he and his allies were defeated and himself slain in the action some time after, on which

as his accuser was no more, the earl of Tyrone was released from his confinement, on giving hostages for his good behaviour. And thus the English in Ireland affected a part like that of the ancient Romans, taking cognizance of the causes of their tributaries, and by the same kind of policy, generally taking the part of the weaker against the stronger. At this period Mac Coghlan submitting was restored to his territory of Delvin. About the same time in England, the duke of Somerset, protector of the kingdom, being accused by a faction, was beheaded on Tower-hill, his own nephew, king Edward, signing his death warrant.—And this year the young Fitz Gerald, heir to the house of Kildare, whose life had been preserved almost miraculously, was received into favour, had the greatest part of the family estate restored to him, and was at length created earl of Kildare, and baron of Ophaly, to the great joy and surprise of his friends.

The lord deputy marched again into Ulster, but took with him only a small force, expecting to be joined by the baron Dungannon, who endeavoured to do so, but was prevented by his brother Shane O'Neal's surprising his camp in the night, and slaughtering his troops, on which news the lord deputy returned to Dublin. Sir Nicholas Bagnal and Hugh Mac Murrough had encountered each other before this time, but neither part obtained a victory. In the mean time the garrison of Athloan at Cluan Macnoise pillaged and destroyed all that came in their way. Donough, earl of Thomond, notwithstanding the settlement made upon him and his heirs, had great contests with his uncles, and was at last murdered and succeeded by his son Cnoger.

The lord deputy departing for England, Sir Thomas Cusack and Sir Gerald Ailmer were chosen lords

lords justices by the council, to whom Mac Neal Oge, of Clanciboy made his submission, but the contests between the earl of Tyrone and his son Shane O'Neil still subsisted, in other parts; Teige Roe O'Mlaghlin murdered Neil Mac Phelimy, and was afterwards himself slain by the baron of Delvin and the garrison of Athlone; whilst in Connaught Richard Burk had wars with the sons of Thomas Burk, the former of whom was taken prisoner, having lost an hundred and fifty of his followers; and Richard, earl of Clanrickard besieged the castle of John Burk, but could not take it, because Daniel O'Brian marched to its relief.— Thus were the Irish all at variance amongst themselves, and provisions being scarce, the country was threatened with the evils of famine as well as the sword; when, in the midst of these confusions, the king died at Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign, on the sixth day of July, fifteen hundred and fifty-three, not without some suspicion of poison.—

During the whole of his reign both himself and his people had been the dupes of an ambitious and factious nobility.—Two opposite parties were struggling for power, and religion was occasionally made the stalking horse of either.—Edward was himself reckoned an amiable prince, yet he had put to death his own uncle, and been the cause of the destruction of some thousands of his deluded people.—And being over-persuaded by those about him, the last action of his life, though well meant, was likely to have proved the worst, namely, that of bequeathing the crown to lady Jane Grey, daughter of the duke of Suffolk, in injury to both his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, which might have involved this land in all the miseries of a civil war.— Upon the whole, it seems that this prince was of a very good disposition, and had excellent talents for

learning, but, whether from his being surrounded by evil counsellors, or on account of his tender years, he certainly exhibited none for government. His heart was set upon a thorough reformation, which his theological knowledge led him to judge necessary ; but he was much too hasty in endeavouring to effect it.—Had he, instead of immersing himself in divinity, studied the human heart, he would have considered it as a hard matter at once to eradicate prejudices from the minds of a multitude, especially such whereon they imagined their salvation itself to depend.—But perhaps he was too young to consider these things ; and, in consequence, his reign furnished some striking instances of the unhappiness of a nation that is subject to a minor king.—

The death of Edward being concealed by the duke of Northumberland, whose fourth son, lord Guildford Dudley was married to lady Jane Grey, the princess Mary was advanced within seventeen miles of London before she heard of her brother's decease, and when she was informed of that event, she at the same time received intelligence of her being excluded from the succession by the council, whereupon she wrote to them to complain of the injury, and immediately afterwards withdrew to the sea coast of Suffolk, there to wait the event of things, and prepare against the worst that might happen.

The dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland then caused Jane to be proclaimed queen of England, setting aside Mary, on that unjust pretence of her being the offspring of an incestuous marriage, and of her mother, the injured Catherine's having been divorced from the king her father : nevertheless this flimsy pretence could not blind the people, who after twelve days spent in mock royalty, dethroned the usurper, and placed their rightful queen

queen upon the throne.—Lady Jane Grey afterwards suffered decapitation (to speak truly) for faults not her own, being ever averse to the usurpation her relations obliged her to conform to. She was one of the most virtuous, beautiful, and accomplished young ladies of the age, and certainly would not have been put to death, even by Mary herself, had she not been terrified into that cruel measure by a subsequent rebellion.—Indeed it is pleasant to observe to what shifts some furious bigots to a party are driven to prove the nullity of Mary's right; but as these discussions are not to my purpose, having much matter to bring into small compass, I shall say no more of them than that the arguments are actually false and absurd in themselves, and Mary being possessed both of hereditary and elective right, most of those who have used them must have known them in fact to be so. But to proceed.—

On queen Mary's accession to the throne, Sir Thomas Cusack, and Gerald Ailmer were continued lords justices, and her succession being notified, wherein she was styled Supreme Head of the Church, liberty of mass was granted to those who chose to use it, and the queen being crowned, granted a general pardon to all her subjects of England and Ireland, which is generally a political step, where any potentate succeeds after a reign that has been marked with any intestine broils or civil commotions.

Yet O'Connor was in this time invading Ophaly and O'Neal was at arms in the county of Louth, but both were suppressed by the lords justices, and the latter receiving a great overthrow near Dundalk where he lost many of his men, was prevented from becoming farther troublesome.

— Sir Anthony Saintleger, lord deputy arriving now took the usual oaths, and received the sword
at

A. D.

1553.

Mary.

at Christ Church. At this time the baron of Delvin, and the Mac Coghlan's made war upon each other, which proved very tedious and ruinous to the territory of Delvin. And Owen Mac Gennis was confirmed chief of his sept or tribe, on making submission to the queen's deputy, and agreeing to certain conditions.

The archbishop of Ardmagh, who had fled, was now re-called, and restored to his primacy.—The married clergy were deprived; and Lancaster, bishop of Kildare, and Traverse, bishop of Leighlin, Bale, bishop of Ossory, and Casy, bishop of Limerick, being all protestants, fled in their turn to foreign climates, catholic prelates being instituted in their room. Dr. Walsh was made bishop of Meath, Hugh Carvin of Dublin, and Thomas Levercuse of Kildare: the pope also made Thomas O'Fihely bishop of Leighlin, and Hugh Lacy was advanced to the see of Limerick, and John Thonory got possession of the bishopric of Ophaly, though his leases were afterwards voided, because Bale was never deprived.

Gerald, earl of Kildare, having been restored in May, came over this year to take possession of his estates, with whom also came Brian Fitz Patrick, the late king Edward's favourite, and Thomas, earl of Ormond, who had behaved themselves well in the affair of Wyatt's rebellion, which was raised in England on account of the queen's marriage with Philip of Spain.

At this time her majesty sent orders to reduce the army in Ireland, which was done, but not exactly according to her estimate, and in the sequel it appeared the deputy and council were right in their judgement, for it was not long before they were obliged again to augment their forces, and likewise to send for fresh succours from England.—

The

The disputes among the native Irish still continuing—Daniel O'Brian, who claiming by Tanistry, had long contested the right to the earldom of Thomond, and had slain the present earl's father, still kept up the dispute with the son; and though, by mediation of the lord deputy and council these rivals were apparently reconciled, yet the quarrels soon broke out again, as seems to have been the custom of the natives of that unhappy country.—Charles O'Carrol, who had killed Teig of the same name, was himself murdered by William O'Dar, O'Carrol, and the murderer seized upon the seignior. The earl of Kildare and the baron of Delvin going into Ulster to assist Shane O'Neal against Phelim Roe O'Neal, reaped little fruit from their expedition, but returned, after they had lost about an hundred and fifty men in a skirmish.—But soon after the earl of Tyrone engaging Hugh Mac Neal of Clondeboy, was defeated, with the loss of above three hundred men; and all parties continued as usual to waste and spoil each other's land, to the great detriment of agriculture, trade, and commerce, in the island.

At this time Brian O'Connor, then in the hands of the queen, who allowed him a pension in England, obtained leave to come over to Ireland, still retaining his pension. This was a great mark of her majesty's confidence in him, but he had not been long in the island before he was accused of having little deserved it, and being taken up on suspicion of forming some confederacies against the state, was committed prisoner to the castle of Dublin; but on giving his son Roderic as an hostage, for his peaceable behaviour he was at length set at liberty.

The queen chose at this time to make some promotions both in church and state; — and this year Carrickfergus was besieged by the Scots, who com-
mitted

mitted divers other depredations in Ireland, while the Cavenaugh's invading the county of Dublin, were defeated, and seventy-four of them being made prisoners, were hanged, by order of the lord deputy.

Thomas Ratchiff, lord Fitz-Walter, was next made lord deputy, who defeated the Scotch in Ulster, and took Shane O'Neal and several others of the Irish into his protection, but Shane rising in arms soon after his submission, was proclaimed a traitor, and slain in consequence of his revolt.

The new lord deputy went into Ulster, where he sought to engage the rebels as his predecessor had done, burned Ardmagh, and proceeded to Newry; but being ordered into England, was obliged to depart, after having taken hostages from many of the Irish for their good behaviour; and in his room, Hugh Curvin and Sir Henry Sidney were made lords justices.—Sir Henry attacked Arthur Molloy, and over-run his country. At this time Shane O'Neal invading Tyrconnel, had his camp surprised in the night by Calvagh O'Donnel, and was obliged to have recourse to flight to save himself amidst the general rout and slaughter.

The next deputy was Thomas, earl of Essex, who marching into Munster against Daniel O'Brian took the castles of Bunratty and Clare, and restored the country to the earl of Thomond, who swore to continue loyal to the queen, and to perform articles with the lord deputy, to whom the earl of Desmond also made his submission;—he also wasted Cantire in Scotland, and reduced several parts of Ulster, through which he returned, to obedience to the English government.

Sir Henry Sidney being sworn lord justice had a new great seal sent him, as had three other great officers of state, and held the government at the death of the queen, which happened on the seven-
teenth

teenth day of November, in the year fifteen hundred and fifteen, in the forty-third year of her age, and the sixth of her reign, and with her expired the chief hopes of the catholics in England, who under her protection had proceeded against the protestants with all the brutal rage that ignorant zeal and the fury of religious bigotry could inspire.

Elizabeth succeeded her sister Mary on the English throne, but was too politic to adopt a religion by the rules of which she must have acknowledged her own birth to be illegitimate. She viewed both the contending parties with a cautious eye, and having first partly availed herself of the interest of one to gain the crown, she afterwards declared in favour of the other, and yet had the good policy to secure herself in the government, notwithstanding any of the efforts of either;—her sudden breaking with Philip of Spain, who had married her sister Mary, was not perhaps the most prudent measure she could have adopted, as it rent Calais (lost in the former reign) for ever from the English crown, and created her a formidable enemy, who ever after sought her ruin; nevertheless, she so abundantly made amends for this false step, by her wise choice of able counsellors, who found means to cut out work for her enemies abroad, and by the uniform conduct she observed with respect to checking factions at home, that she laid the foundation of a reign no less glorious to herself, than advantageous to her people, over whom, notwithstanding, she shewed a most ardent desire as ever prince did to play the tyrant.

This queen, who was proclaimed immediately upon her sister's death, was crowned on the twenty-fifth of January, in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-eight, in the twenty-fifth year of her age, and having by her wisdom obviated every obstacle that could arise to prevent her assuming the reins of government,

Elizabeth.

1511
1515
— 290

vernment, was received by the people with the greatest tokens of joy and satisfaction.

Thomas, earl of Suffex, being at that time lord deputy of Ireland, the queen for a while continued him in his office, sending him a set of instructions relative to the regulation of certain affairs, which however they might concern the good government of the country, are of too little consequence, as to the matter of them, to be recited in this history.

When he was re-called, Sir Henry Sidney was made lord deputy, who found himself somewhat embarrassed in settling the succession of the O'Neal family.—For Shane, legitimate son of the earl of Tyrone, took upon him the name of O'Neal, which his father had disclaimed, and with some shew of reason disowned the English jurisdiction, being incensed at those laws by which he saw himself cut off from his inheritance, his brother Matthew, who was a bastard, having been preferred before him, whom Shane on that account put to death, and imprisoned his father for his partiality, who ended by grief a life that had been full of troubles.

Sir Henry Sidney marching to Dundalk, sent a summons to this Shane to appear before him, which the latter declined complying with, but to shew the desire he had of being upon good terms with the chief governor, courteously invited him to come to his house, and become his gossip, Sir Henry accordingly accepted the invitation; but when he began expostulating with Shane concerning the daring steps he had taken, the Irish chief observed, That his father's surrender was void; because in effect he had but an estate for life in his principality by Tanistry, nor could make a surrender without the concurrence of the lords of his country; moreover, he urged that the letters patent must be void

void by the English laws, because no inquisition was taken before they were passed, and none could be taken, unless Tyrone were made shire-ground. He concluded with urging his own legitimacy, and insisting that what he held was by prescription. As there was some colour of argument in what Shane had advanced, the lord deputy contented himself with saying, "That the matter being of great consequence there was no doubt but when it should be referred to the queen she would give a right determination," in the mean time advising Shane to remain quiet, and wait the event with patience;—and so they parted friends, though without having determined upon any thing.

Thomas, earl of Suffex, knight of the garter, this year came over as lord deputy, who brought over with him several instructions concerning the victualling of the army, the holding of Irish estates after the English manner, &c. and some which related to the setting up the worship of God in Ireland, in the same manner as it was practised in England.

A. D.
1559.

For having employed Dr. Parker privately to reform the liturgy, the queen had published a proclamation allowing divine service to be performed in the vulgar tongue, and giving leave to her subjects to read the scriptures, which proclamation did but forerun many things of more consequence, which she had determined to effect.—The parliament of England meeting after this, among many other statutes enacted the following,—That the supremacy of the church should be vested in the sovereign.—That those acts which had passed in Edward the Sixth's reign, relative to religion, should be confirmed and established.—That the queen should have the power of nomination to bishoprics.—That no person should, by writing or speaking, fa-
vour

your foreign authority.—That there should be an uniformity of worship.—That the queen, on the vacancy of any bishopric might resume its temporalities.—That she should be put in possession of all religious houses. And, that the condemnation of the Romish bishops, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, was absolutely just and legal.—

From these statutes it was easy to see how little the catholics had to hope or expect from Elizabeth; but their experience came too late. That princess had carried herself so artfully that the Romanists who were in possession of most of the power in the kingdom, at the time of Mary's decease, had set her sister up as a favourer, or at least not a persecutor, of their religion; nay she had even pretended to be a catholic. But now incensed at her proceedings, the lower house of convocation, in a petition to her majesty, openly espoused the cause of the catholics. A public dispute was afterwards proposed between several learned doctors of both persuasions, which however came to nothing: the reason for which is said to be that the catholic champions declined engaging in the controversy without the pope's permission, which they were not furnished with. But in consequence of these proceedings, fourteen bishops, and a great number of the inferior clergy resigned their sees and benefices, which were immediately filled up with protestants, a circumstance that served still more to weaken the cause that the others strove to defend.

—To return.—The chief of the lord deputy's instructions were these:—

First, That the army should be three hundred and twenty-six horse, eight hundred and sixty-four foot, and three hundred Kerns.

Secondly. That port-corn should be reserved towards victualling the army.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That he should endeavour to people Ulster with English, and to recover Lecale, Newry, and Carlingford, from the Scots, and should recompence Sir Nicholas Bagnal for his interest in Ulster.

Fourthly, That Mac Carthy should be ordered to hold his estate after the English manner, as the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard did.— And he had also other instructions to him, and the council, to set up the worship of God, as it was in England, and to make such statutes next parliament as were lately made in England *mutatis mutandis* and to dispose of Leix and Ophaly to the best advantage of the queen and the country.

And the deputy afterwards held a parliament at Dublin, on the twelfth day of January, which enacted the following laws, and then was dissolved on the twelfth of February.

First, That the ancient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiastical and spiritual should be restored to the crown, and foreign authority abolished; and that the acts of appeals and faculties be revived; and also as much of the act of marriage as concerns consanguinity.—And the act of repeal made the third and fourth of Philip and Mary repealed.—And an act of the third and fourth of Philip and Mary to revive three statutes concerning heresy; and the three statutes therein named to be repealed, except so much thereof as concerns premunire.—And that the queen and her successors may appoint commissioners to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction. And that all officers and ministers ecclesiastical or lay, all ecclesiastical persons, and every one that has the queen's wages shall take the oath of supremacy, on pain of losing his office, and that he shall be incapable of bearing any office ecclesiastical or temporal, if he obdutely refuses

the oath tendered to him.—He that sued Livery or took orders was to take the oath; and a penitent upon taking the oath was to be restored to his office of inheritance.

He that did extol, maintain or advance foreign jurisdiction was for the first offence to lose his goods: and if they were not worth twenty pounds then a year's imprisonment without bail, besides; and if it were an ecclesiastical person, he was likewise to lose all his benefices, and the second offence to be premunire, and the third high treason, provided the prosecution for words was within half a year after the speaking. Nothing was to be adjudged heresy but what had been so by the scripture, the first four general councils, or some other general council, by express words of scripture, or should be by act of parliament.—That there must be two witnesses.—And no man to be esteemed as accessory till two witnesses proved he knew the guilt of the principal before he relieved him, &c.

Secondly, An act for uniformity of common prayer.

Thirdly, An act for restitution of the first fruits, and twentieth part of the spiritual benefices to the crown.

Fourthly, An act for consecrating archbishops and bishops.

Fifthly, An act of recognition of the queen's title.

Sixthly, To make it premunire to say the queen had no right to the crown, and treason to write it.

Seventhly, The priory of St. John of Jerusalem be united to the crown. —

The Irish parliament being dissolved, and the lord deputy embarking for England, in order to give an account of their proceedings, Sir William

liam Fitz-Williams was left to supply his place, who found that Shane O'Neal, though he had been quiet during the remainder of his predecessor's administration, did not chuse to remain so in his.—For he now levied forces, with which he defeated O'Reyley, took the chief of Tyrconnel prisoner, together with his wife and children, seized upon his lands and goods, and carried all before him in Ulster.

In the mean time, the earl of Suffex came back from England, whither he had orders to send over the earl of Kildare; after which he made a second voyage to England; but when he returned, he found Shane again in arms, whom he again forced to a submission, which he repeated in England, and received some presents from the queen, besides borrowing of her two thousand five hundred pounds, and obtaining a commission to be sent over to examine into some complaints of his, which her majesty was willing to take cognizance of.

And Shane, on his return, seemed willing enough to prove loyal; for he drove the Scots out of Ulster, and maintained good order in his district; but being rather imperious to his vassals, Mac Guire complained of him to the government, Shane, when instead of submitting his claims to their decision, invaded Fermenagh, expelled Mac Guire, burned the church of Ardmagh, and besieged Dundalk, from which last place, though he was repulsed, he spoiled and wasted the country the lord lieutenant being recalled before he could act against him.

Sir Nicholas Arnold was next made lord justice; but, soon after, he resigned his office to Sir Henry Sidney, who was now again made lord deputy, and, like the rest, brought several in-

structions over with him, which tended to the well being of the church and state.

And indeed there was occasion for these and more, things being in great confusion in the country, notwithstanding all the care government at this time took to set them in order.

In Connaught, the earl of Clanrickard and Mac William Outer spread desolation over the face of the country.—The Birnes, the Tools, the Cavanagh's O'Murroughs and O'Mores wasted Leinster.—Munster was nearly ruined by the dissensions between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, the latter of whom had lately received an overthrow, in which he had lost two hundred and eighty of his men; Sir Daniel O'Brian and the earl of Thomond over-running the country known by the latter name.

Ormond and Desmond however thought proper to lay their cause before the queen in council; but her penetration being so great that she saw their disputes was such as could not be settled in another country without farther enquiries, she resolved to settle the matter by commissioners, who were accordingly sent over, and invested with the powers necessary for that purpose, and the two lords were bound in recognisances of no less than twenty thousand pounds each, to stand to the queen's determination.

About this time Mac Carthy More, of Munster, went over to England, and there submitted and surrendered his estate into the hands of Elizabeth, who restored it to him again, by letters patent, creating him earl of Glencar, and baron of Valentia.—O'Sullivan likewise took a patent for his estate which was granted him, among other stipulations, on condition of his paying the rents and services due to the above men—

mentioned earl of Glencar, which rents and services were as follow:—

First, To aid him with his whole strength on summons, and to be the mareschal of his army.

Secondly, Every arable or plow land to furnish five Gallowglasses or Kerns, or to pay six shillings and eight-pence, or a beef for each, at the election of a Mac Carthy More.

Thirdly, That Mac Carthy should have half a crown for every ship that came to fish or merchandize in O'Sullivan's harbours.

Fourthly, To have merchandise brought thither at the same rate as O'Sullivan had his.

Fifthly, To entertain Mac Carthy More and his train two days and nights at Dunboy; and at all other times he had occasion to travel that way, to entertain Mac Carthy and his body servants, and to quarter the rest on the country.

Sixthly, He was to send horse-meat to Pallice, for Mac Carthy's saddle-horses, and pay the groom three shillings and four-pence out of every arable plow-land.

Lastly, He was to find the hounds, grey-hounds, and spaniels of Mac Carthy, whenever they came, and to pay one shilling and eight-pence *per annum* to the huntsman out of every arable plow-land.

But Shane was much displeased with Elizabeth for having ennobled Mac Carthy More, and used to say, "That though the queen had made that chief an earl, yet he kept as good a man as he; that for his own part, his blood was better than the best, as he was descended from kings; and as he had won Ulster by the sword, so he would also keep it by the same means."—Such are the answers he is said to have given to those who assured him that if he would lay down his arms, the queen would make him earl of Ty-

rone. — The Irish writers applaud him for this spirit; certainly it ill agreed with his repeated submissions.

In order to support his words with actions, O'Neal kept on foot near five thousand men, and made an attempt upon Dundalk, which was in his neighbourhood, but was repulsed with loss, notwithstanding which check he made inroads into the Pale, and could not but be considered as a formidable enemy.

Mean while the queen sent a re-inforcement from England, who, under the command of colonel Randolph, arrived at Derry, where the lord deputy joined them, and having left them some of his own soldiers, furnished them with provisions, and regulated matters as well as he could, he returned to Dublin, little conceiving what would be the fate of those he left behind him.

The English writers say that O'Neal, having provoked the garrison to make a sally, lost four hundred men by a furious attack they made upon him, which, on their side, cost them their colonel, who was the only Englishman slain in the encounter; but this story seems improbable; nor is it of much consequence to ascertain the truth or falsity of it, since, whatever success colonel Randolph's men might have in a sally, it is certain that soon after the powder magazine blowing up, both the fort and town of Derry were destroyed, a great part of the soldiers miserably perished, and the rest, being left destitute of ammunition and provisions, were obliged to return to Dublin.

At the same time, the lord deputy received intelligence that the earl of Desmond was up in arms in Munster, and that it was feared he intended to join O'Neal; on which he sent him a summons to appear immediately, and the earl obeying

obeying accordingly, was sent with Sir Warham Saintleger, and a party of horse, to guard the Pale from incursions.

In the month of September, the lord deputy marched at the head of a body of troops through Ulster to Galway, the Irish sometimes appearing in his rear, but nothing except a few slight skirmishes ensuing.—He established Sir Edward Fitton president of Connaught, took the castle of Roscommon, and garrisoned it. In his progress, he restored O'Donnel to the possession of his two castles of Ballyshannon and Donnegal, and received the submissions of several chiefs that were formerly dependant upon O'Neal;—he having discharged his army at Athlone, as soon as he returned from his expedition, the enemy appeared again and invaded the Pale; but finding it well garrisoned, wasted the open country, and returned again to the siege of Dundalk, from which place they were again repulsed.

And, in the end, without any great achievements by the sword, the lord deputy so distressed O'Neal by stirring up enemies against him, and making incursions into his country, that, at length, he thought fit to throw himself upon the Scots for succour.—In consequence of this resolution, he made a journey to Clandeboy, where Alexander Oge commanded a party of them, and having first restored him his brother whom he had taken prisoner, was afterwards received by this chief with great seeming cordiality; but the perfidious Scots, remembering the mischiefs he had done them when he fought on the queen's behalf, basely took this opportunity to revenge themselves, and falling upon him and his company, slew them all, and sent his head to Dublin.

We have already seen the earls of Ormond and Desmond in open contention:—at last the complaints of the former being conveyed to the queen, the lord deputy was ordered to apprehend the latter, which he did, and having conveyed him prisoner to Limerick, knighted his brother John, and made him seneschal of Desmond.—Like complaints were preferred by Oliver Sutton against the earl of Kildare, and by some others against Sir Edmund Butler, which the queen was requested to send over some fit lord chancellor to settle.—As for the lord deputy, after Shane O'Neal's death, he marched immediately into Ulster, where Turlogh Lynogh, and most of the gentry of Ulster made their submission to him.

But finding that, notwithstanding all he could do, the court of England was little satisfied with his government, this deputy solicited letters of recal, and having obtained them, directly passed over into England, taking with him the earl of Desmond, the baron of Dungannon, O'Connor Sligo, O'Carol, and some others. The two first of these were imprisoned in the Tower, and Sir John Desmond sent for to accompany them.—But O'Connor, making his submission, was enlarged; and afterwards the earl of Desmond laid his whole estate at her majesty's feet, and acknowledged that he had forfeited the recognizance he had entered into of twenty thousand pounds, by levying war in her majesty's kingdom of Ireland.

Nevertheless that country remained in as miserable a state as before.—Sir William Fitz-Williams and doctor Weston (chancellor) being left lords justices, saw the land involved in civil war, chiefly on private pretences.—James Fitz-Maurice of Desmond, and the lord of Lixnaw Mac William

flam Outer, and O'Connor of Sligo, were contending with all their might in different parts.—Daniel Mac Carthy More, despising his title of earl of Glencar, styled himself king of Munster, and began to invade the neighbouring lands.—Turlogh Lynogh took upon him the title of O'Neal in Ulster, and though he had slain Alexander Oge, yet prevailed on a thousand Scots to receive his pay, and invade the Fenny.—And, as to the O'Connors and O'Mores, they put themselves at the head of a thousand Gallowglasses, threatening to spread devastation over O'Carol's country, and wherever else they came.

In this situation did Sir Henry Sidney find the country, at his return to the government.—Nor was matter for dispute wanting in the cabinet any more than in the field.—At the council board some contested claims occasioned much discussion.—The parliament being called together, Stainhurst, the recorder was chosen speaker, whom the catholics not approving, as they wanted Sir Christopher Barnwell to be chosen, they began to raise many objections, the chief of which rested on the non-residence of members, and on their assertion that several mayors and sheriffs had returned themselves. However, the opinion of the judges and of the attorney-general and solicitor being against them, in regard to the question of non-residence, they were obliged to comply, but did it with much murmuring, and seemed inclined to obstruct the business for which the assembly was called together, whereupon one Hooker got up, and, perhaps with too much acrimony, rebuked the discontented members, spoke much in favour of the queen's prerogative, upbraided the Irish with that ungrateful and rebellious disposition, for which, he observed, they had ever been remarkable, and concluded with comparing their
their

their present opposition to that of the seditious Israelites against Moses.

All this was but adding fuel to fire ;—the members alluded to, arose in a tumult, and the person who had uttered these things was obliged to be guarded to Sir Peter Carew's house, for fear any violence should have been offered to his person : whilst, on the other hand, Sir Christopher Barnwell, whom the catholics wished to have had for their speaker, rose up to answer these matters laid to the charge of the Irish, and declared that had such calumnies been thrown upon them in any other place than in that house, they would have died rather than have suffered them.

However, when these affairs were a little more settled, the parliament at last proceeded to pass the following acts :

First, An act relative to privileged places.—To suppress Coigne and Livery; and, for the queen's assistance, to grant her certain subsidies in the room of it.

II. A limitation of places for tanning leather.

III. An act for the confirmation of certain attainders.

IV. An act ordaining, That five of the chief of every tribe or family should answer for the damages that such tribe might commit.

V. A revival of the acts relative to forestallers, servants wages, and Jeofails.

Then the parliament adjourned to the twenty-first day of February, and afterwards to the twenty-third of the same month, when they enacted these statutes :

I. An act for the attainder of Shane O'Neal, and the extinction of the name of O'Neal, and to entitle the queen to the country of Tyrone, and other lands in Ulster.

II. An act to make Trinity term shorter.

III. An

III. An act to entitle her majesty to the estate of Thomas Fitz-Gerald, knight of the Glin.

IV. An act for the preservation of Salmon and Eel fry.

V. An act against laying hemp, flax, lime or hides in any fresh river or running water.

VI. That whereas persons had been admitted to ecclesiastical dignities who had neither legitimacy, learning, English habit or English language, but were the issue of unchaste and unmarried abbots, deans, priors, canons, and such like, getting into the same dignities by force, symony, or other undue means; therefore, the chief governor of Ireland for ten years to come was to have the sole nomination of all deans, arch-deacons, chanters, chancellors and treasurers of cathedral churches in Munster and Connaught, (those of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Cashel excepted,) and no man was to be presented unless he were of full age, and in orders, and could read and speak English, and would reside.

VII. That no man should take upon him to be captain of a territory without a patent for it; or use any sort of Irish exaction, on pain of an hundred pounds for a lord, and an hundred marks for a commoner.

VIII. That no bill to repeal Poyning's act was certified into England, until it was first agreed upon by a majority of the parliament of Ireland.

IX. That the rest of the kingdom was to be divided into shires.

X. That no wool, flocks, flax, yarn, sheep-skins, goat-skins, calves-skins, or deers-skins unwrought, nor beef, tallow, wax, or butter, should be transported until it paid the custom in the act mentioned, and the duties to corporations in the act likewise mentioned, on the penalties therein contained :

tained ; provided prosecutions were made within nine months after the offence was committed.

XI. An act for the impost on wines.

XII. An act to restore the earl of Kildare's brother and sisters in blood.

And to these statutes, the same parliament meeting again on the twelfth day of May, added the following :

That schools should be erected in the shire-town of every diocese by the direction of the bishop and sheriff, and the chief governor was to nominate an English school-master, and appoint his salary, whereof the bishop was to pay one third, and the rest of the clergy the other two parts ; the bishops of Ardmagh and Dublin, Meath and Kildare were to name English school-masters for their respective dioceses.

That all exemplifications under the great seal, and the seals of the king's bench, common pleas, and exchequer, subscribed by the lord chancellor, both the chief justices, and the chief baron, should be as effectual in all courts as the original record, if it contained a clause specifying that all those seals were affixed to it.

An act concerning the standard for corn measures.—And lastly,

An act, empowering the chief governor and council to grant patents to such of the Irish as the queen should direct.

Besides five other acts not of consequence sufficient to be here recited.—

But it seems that many of the Irish lords were so much disgusted at the loss of their Irish chiefries, and the impost at this time laid upon wine, that they resolved to rescind them (says Cox) and to make religion the Pretence for their opposition. Whether those were the true causes or not I shall not here stop to discuss, but rather proceed

proceed to relate the matter of fact, and draw the conclusions afterwards.

One of the chief of the malecontents was James Fitz-Maurice, who to the general complaints joined his own particular ones, the greatest of which was the imprisonment of the earl of Desmond, and his brother Sir John. The earl of Glencar being drawn over by his means, most of the Mac Carthies followed, as did also Fitz-Gerald, seneschal of Inskilly. Sir Edmund Butler also, laying aside his hatred of the Desmond family, and sacrificing his own private resentments to the common cause, as it was called, joined the revolvers, and did every thing in his power to promote their interests.

But this was not all;—in order the more effectually to carry their point into execution, the confederates sent the catholic bishops of Emly and Cashel, together with the earl of Desmond's younger brother, as their ambassadors to his holiness and the king of Spain, complaining of the tyranny of the queen of England, and the persecution raised against their religion by her and her ministers.

The lord deputy observing these commotions rising, endeavoured to crush them in their birth. He proclaimed the confederates traitors, and by his orders Sir Peter Catew, governor of Leighlin, began hostilities against them. He first took one of Sir Edmund's castles, which he gave up to be plundered by the soldiers, then he advanced into Kilkenny, and within three miles of that city defeated three thousand men in arms, with the loss (if we may believe the English writers) of only one man, who was a servant to one captain Malby.—But I am led to think the success not so great as it is here represented, because soon after I find that James Fitz Maurice laid siege to Kilkenny, and though he

he there met with a repulse, wasted the villages and the country round about; whilst another party despoiled Wexford; Waterford was in the same situation, and devastation was carried even to the gates of Dublin. The earl of Ormond who was in England, undertook to bring back his brethren to the queen's interest, either by fair means or foul, and for that purpose was permitted to sail unto Ireland, and arrived at Waterford in the month of August. In the mean time, the lord deputy marched towards Cork, and coming to Clonmel, was entertained in the town house; he next came to Cashell, and having taken a castle of Sir Edmund Butler's, passed from thence to Cork, where he found some recruits newly arrived from England. He then proceeded into Ossory, and took Buttvant; but when he came to Killmallock, he found that James Fitz Maurice had taken that town, and, despairing of keeping it, had burned it. However, the lord deputy left a garrison there, giving all manner of encouragement for the repairing it, and having taken hostages from the lords Roch, Courcy, and others, he directed his course towards the city of Limerick, having made a very prosperous progress. Near this place the earl of Ormond came to him, bringing with him his brother, Sir Edmund Butler; who making his submission, and surrendering himself, was set at liberty, upon the earl's binding himself in recognizances for his appearance at Dublin, whither he came accordingly, but making some rash speeches to the lord deputy, he was committed prisoner to the castle, from whence he let himself down with a rope, and with great difficulty made his escape; nevertheless, three months afterwards, the earl brought him again, together with the rest of his brothers before the lord deputy, who after their submission, and a short commitment,

commitment granted them all a pardon ; for which steps he, doubtless, had authority from the queen, who loved the family of Ormond, from which she herself by the mother's side was descended.

Mac Donough and his chief, the earl of Glencar, submitted in Munster to colonel Gilbert, gave hostages, and afterwards renewed their submission at Dublin.—In Leinster, the Cavenaghs did the same to Sir Peter Carew, whilst Sir Edward Titton, by his severity endeavoured to keep all quiet in Connaught, nevertheless the earl of Thomond first objected to his government, and afterwards complained of it to the lord deputy, who sent the earl of Ormond to parley with him; but these noblemen agreeing upon nothing, and Thomond being afterwards worsted in the field, he fled into France, where meeting with the English ambassador, he was by his means reconciled to the queen, and lived as her subject ever afterwards.

Turlough Lynogh, who assumed the name of O'Neal in Ulster, and who had a number of Scots amongst his soldiers, having designed to make a great expedition against the English, was prevented by an accident ; for, as he was sitting at supper with his wife, (the earl of Argyle's aunt,) he was wounded with two balls, shot at him, as it is said, by one who was entertained as a jester.—And though the wound did not prove mortal, yet the dangerous condition he was in, occasioned the Scots to begin deserting him, while his own countrymen busied themselves in setting up another O'Neal in his room ;—and though he afterwards recovered and prepared to invade the Pale, yet he declined it, on receiving proposals from the queen by justice Dowdall and the dean of Ardmagh, who came to an agreement with him in his camp, on terms which were afterwards confirmed and ratified by the lord deputy.

And,

And in all probability, the government would have had much less trouble with the Irish, if their embassies to pope Pius had not produced a bull from that pontiff, in which he excommunicated Elizabeth, and absolved her subjects from obedience. To men who believed the catholic doctrines, and held the pope's supremacy, it is easy to conceive that this bull would be ground-work sufficient for a revolt, and accordingly we find it laid a foundation for a vast pile of mischief, great part of which tumbled in ruinous heaps upon the heads of those who raised it.

But Sir John Perrot found the means to keep the insurgents under in Munster, and reduced James Fitz-Maurice himself to obedience, who surrendered at discretion; besides which he brought several of the Irish lords to an acknowledgement of allegiance, and a promise of furnishing each his particular *quota* towards the expences of the war.

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On the 13th of December this year, the lord deputy received permission to return to England, with orders to substitute his brother-in-law, William Fitz-Williams in his place, during whose administration Brian Mac Cahir Cavenagh took arms and slew one Robert Brown, on which Sir Nicholas Devereaux engaged him, at the head of the people of Wexford, but was routed with the loss of thirty gentlemen, besides common soldiers, who were slain upon the spot.—In Connaught, the sons of the earl of Clanrickard, impatient of the government of Sir Edward Fitton, (who was inveighed against by many, and seems to have been a most arbitrary man) broke out into open war, and hired a thousand auxiliary Scots, in order to support the contest. The earl of Clanrickard, then prisoner in Dublin, undertook to bring them back to their allegiance, but
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he did not perform his promise. However, an English writer says, the same thing was in a great measure effected by a stupendous victory obtained by captain Collier, who, with one company of foot, defeated and killed these thousand auxiliary Scots. This was a *stupendous* victory indeed; it is a pity he did not add, "without having one man, on his side, killed or wounded." — This would have completed the matter, and given the story its proper stamp at once, which, however, even without that addition, is likely to gain but little credit with the judicious and unprejudiced reader.

The O'Mores and O'Connors now made incursions, and burned Athlone, while Brian Mac Phelimy took and burned Carrickfergus, and notwithstanding all the caution of the government, the rebels were every where in motion.

About the same time, a natural son of Sir Thomas Smith was encouraged by the queen to go over and make a settlement in the Ardes, in the eastern part of Ulster, "in order (says an English author) to humanise the barbarous people of that country;" an expression which has given the Irishmen offence, and which had been better omitted by any historian. — However this *humane* design, which certainly turned upon nothing else than accumulating wealth to Smith, miscarried miserably for himself; for Brian Mac Art O'Neal, the Irish proprietor of the lands he went to take possession of, met and slew this adventurer in a skirmish, and so his followers were dispersed without having effected any thing.

But a greater design than this was formed, and by a greater personage; for Walter Devereaux (says Cox) lately created earl of Essex) obtained a grant of queen Elizabeth, of one moiety of the seigniories of Clanderoy, Ferny, &c. And

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the earl bound himself by indenture to go over to Ireland before Michaelmas, with two hundred horse and four hundred foot, whom he was to maintain for two years, and afterwards he was to keep as many soldiers as the queen should keep for the defence of her moiety, (provided that the number of them did not exceed six hundred.)—And it was agreed, That, for the first two years, the queen should likewise keep two hundred horse and four hundred foot under the command of the earl; and every horseman volunteer that would serve *gratis* for two years, was to have four hundred acres of land, and a foot soldier two hundred acres, at two-pence quit-rent for each acre; and if any of them happened to die within the two years, his heir might supply his place within six months.—And it was farther agreed between the parties, That necessary fortifications should be made, at the equal charge of the queen and the earl, and afterwards a division should be made by commissioners; after which division each might, for twenty years to come, build on his or her respective share at pleasure. The earl was likewise to have timber out of Killala woods, and, for seven years, might transport the growth of the country without paying any custom; and for twelve years more he was to pay no more custom than was paid in England;—and he had also liberty to transport arms, money, and all necessaries out of England, custom-free, upon giving notice to the officers of the ports.—Each might dispose of five thousand acres at pleasure, but more than that quantity was not to be given to Irish or Scots.—And, finally, the earl was to be captain-general for seven years, and was to plant his part, as well as the queen should hers, till there should be a thousand English inhabitants on each moiety.”

These

These articles, being agreed upon, the earl of Essex was made earl-marshal of Ireland, and borrowed ten thousand pounds of the queen, in order to equip him for the expedition.

But, as a presage of its ill success, the lord deputy was the first to express his dissatisfaction at it; —indeed he opposed the undertaking as far as it lay in his power, being much disgusted at the thought of such a powerful rival in authority, till at length it was agreed, that the earl of Essex should take out a commission from him as governor of Ulster, —And this expedient settled matters for the time, though still Fitz-Williams in his heart was much vexed at this expedition.

Having already solicited his recall and complaints having been made in England relative to the state of his government, the queen, in the interim, sent over Mr. Edward Tremain to enquire into the many particulars, among which were the following :

Why the lord deputy so earnestly desired to return to England?

What was the yearly charge of that kingdom? What number of men were there, and how disposed of?

What had been received from the impost of wines since the last Michaelmas?

What state Munster was in, and how it might best be preserved?

How Connaught was situate, how the castles of Ahlone and Roscommon were, and what was the state of Thomond, and of Clanrickard and his sons?

Besides these, there were several other particulars of a more private nature; and the messenger was ordered to notify to the lord deputy, That the earl of Essex would come over in the ensuing August, with two thousand men, to inhabit the forfeited lands in the Glins Ronts and Clandeboy; and in the mean time, to caution him to guard the frontiers of

the Pale that way, and to publish that Essex was coming to repel the Scots, and not to hurt the Irish.

And accordingly, after all these precautions, the earl, accompanied by the lords Darcey and Rich, Sir Henry Knowles, and four of his brothers, Michael Carves, and his brothers, together with many others who were stimulated by the hopeful prospect they imagined they saw before them, all embarked in high spirits for Ireland. These landing at Carrickfergus in the latter end of August were at first saluted by Brian Mac Philemy and other Irish chiefs; but perceiving their great military accompaniment, they soon afterwards thought proper to leave them, and, as if they had fled for the safety of their persons and property, went and arranged themselves under the banners of Turlogh Lynogh O'Neal.

Indeed Essex on his arrival in Ireland found all things turn out less likely to answer his purposes than he had expected. While the inhabitants of Ulster were up in arms, on the one hand, the nobility and gentry of his train deserted him, on the other.—Lord Rich returned to England within a month. Henry Knolls, upon account of sickness, was obliged to follow his example, and many others found divers pretences for abandoning the expedition, which they had at first been so forward to undertake. His soldiers were undisciplined, his commission was delayed, and instead of increasing, he found both his wealth and his force daily diminishing; so that after having taken a castle, and some prisoners, and gained the advantage in an inconsiderable skirmish, he entertained a desire of returning to England, and accordingly solicited letters of recall, and was glad to be rid of his bargain.—And so ended this great enterprise, which was productive of nothing but expence, trouble, and dissatisfaction.

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“ In the mean time (says Cox) the earl of Desmond made his escape from the castle of Dublin, though he had promised upon his oath to be a true prisoner.”—But as this author has been defective in not relating how he came there, and why he made such a promise, it may not be amiss here to advert to the story, as it is told by other writers, since nothing appears to contradict the veracity of the relation.

Fitz Maurice, (say they,) continuing to ravage the English lands in Munster, and having even sometimes encountered the troops of the president of the province with success, the queen alarmed at the progress of his arms, sent orders to the deputy to offer him conditions of peace; and, at the same time, to assure him that her majesty's intention was not to persecute men for the sake of their religion, but to maintain her own royal authority in Ireland. Fitz Maurice accepting the deputy's offers, laid down his arms, on condition that the catholics in his province should not be persecuted, and that the earl of Desmond and his brother Sir John should be set at liberty. Accordingly, the queen hearing that Fitz Maurice had ceased from hostilities, ordered the two Desmonds to be brought before her, whom she exhorted to do their endeavours to quell a rebellion that interrupted the public repose. To which exhortation the earl replied, That he had never been possessed by the spirit of rebellion, and that the loyalty of his ancestors to the English princes was known to all the world; but that neither he nor his family could bear with the tyranny of those to whom her majesty intrusted the administration of affairs in Ireland, and particularly in regard to what concerned religion. The queen, on this, dismissed them, promising that the treaty made with

Fitz Maurice should be duly observed, on her part by her ministers, and desiring that they would go over to Ireland to see it as faith fully performed on theirs.—Accordingly, they embarked, in obedience to the queen; but the captain of the ship that carried them over, was commanded to deliver them into the hands of the deputy at Dublin, who received an order to detain the earl there till his brother had gone to Munster and brought Fitz Maurice thither also, which being accordingly performed, the design was to have struck off the heads of all the three, of which the earl being informed, he trusted his life to the swiftness of his horse, and so made his escape, and joined his brother and his cousin, who were doubly enraged at this breach of faith and honour in Elizabeth.

Though I cannot vouch for the truth of this story, yet I think there is nothing very improbable in it; nor is it at all inconsistent with the character of Elizabeth, who always had more attention to advantage than honour, and ever shewed a greater regard to policy than justice. However the matter was, the earl made his escape, and was very much blamed for so doing---by all who wished his destruction.

The plague now raging at Dublin, Sir Henry Sidney, who again came over lord deputy was sworn at Tredagh, to which place he went immediately from Skyrries where he landed. The first tidings he heard was that Surleboy had laid siege to Carrickfergus, and slain captain Baker, together with forty men, which advantage had contributed much to encourage and invigorate the assailants. The deputy therefore marched at the head of six hundred men into Ulster, which he found almost all ruined, except Newry, and the quarter where the Scots resided, and, in all probability, he would have been much

much embarrassed in his expedition if Turlogh Lynogh had not quarrelled with Surleboy, the consequence of which was, that each separately endeavoured to make peace with him. Sir Henry being thus left to his choice had nothing to do but to close with him whose proposals appeared most advantageous; and, on this account, he found it most reasonable to enter into a treaty with Surleboy, which being concluded, the natural consequence was, that Turlogh was reduced to great straits, and his wife, the earl of Argyle's aunt began to negotiate on very honourable terms for him, with the lord deputy; but before she could bring her treaty to bear, her husband came and surrendered himself at discretion, and having stayed some time, was set at liberty. So say the English writers;—but the Irish assure us that the terms were all settled in his camp before he laid down his arms, which latter is the most probable, because it was not likely Turlogh would hazard his life if he could do otherwise, neither was it usual for the English to let revolvers come off so cheaply, except where they had a great deal to apprehend from dealing roughly with them, and this seems not to have been the case here; for we find that the conclusion of these two treaties quieted Ulster and left the lord deputy at liberty to visit the other provinces.

In effect he immediately marched from thence to Dublin, where having settled matters to his mind, he visited Leinster, and found the country of Kildare laid waste by Rory Oge; but this Rory being persuaded by the earl of Ormond, made his submission, which restored tranquility to that part of the country. —Whilst Sir Henry was at Cork, whither he went in this progress, he received the news of the revolt of the seneschal of Imokilly, against whom he marched and took a strong castle belonging to him, Fitz-Gerald himself being only saved by

flight.—Next he proceeded to Limerick and the county of Thomond, where he appeased some feuds and dissensions, and took pains to persuade the great lords to hold their estates by English tenures.

When the deputy came to Galway, he found the country almost destroyed by Clanrickard's sons; yet these (Cox says) came when least they were expected and surrendered themselves at church where they made their submission, and received a pardon for their lives, but were put into confinement and carried from thence to Dublin; nevertheless, after they had got their liberty again, they passed the Shannon, changed their English habit for that of the native Irish, made a new alliance with the Scots, and in conjunction with these auxiliaries sacked Athenry a second time, setting the new gates of the town on fire, and committing other depredations.

However, the lord deputy marching against the insurgents, they fled to the mountains; but Clanrickard's castles were taken, and he himself was sent prisoner to Dublin, and then Castlebar was restored to Mac William Oughter; after which he went to Galway and Limerick, and established many regulations in those places.

Munster also was brought into some order, except the county of Kerry, which the earl of Desmond claimed as his palatinate, but which the president Drury intended to reduce to the same state of dependancy as the rest of the province; but the English writers say, that the earl finding him
 Cox. obstinate in insisting upon this matter, invited him to a supper at his house where he had provided seven or eight hundred men to surprise him; but that Drury observing his intention, and standing upon his defence with his train, amounting only to one hundred and forty persons, the Irish were routed; but the offence was passed by for that time,

time, at the intercession of the countess, who intreated the president to believe that this great body of men consisted only of some neighbours whom her husband had assembled for a general hunting, yet though Drury thus passed by the fault, he held court and sessions at Kerry, which so much enraged Desmond that he impeached him to the lord deputy of taking cesse, and other offences of the like nature. If the president was in danger of being thus surprised, he had indeed good luck to vanquish such a superior force as was provided to ensnare him; but it was a little extraordinary of the countess of Desmond to intreat him not to believe his own senses, which gave abundant testimony of the treacherous design of those Irishmen! and it is still more extraordinary that he did not find the means either by force or law to punish such an attempt of the earl of Desmond's, who on the contrary was afterwards found to be the plaintiff, not the defendant in the case.

Walter, earl of Essex, whom we mentioned above, having been persuaded to make a second expedition into Ulster, was no longer supported as he had formerly been, but, on the contrary, received many affronts from the court, and grew out of credit with his friend, which plunged him in an abyss of grief, of the effects of which, joined to those of a dysentery, he died in Dublin, in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-six.

In the mean time, the earl of Desmond's cause, as well as that of several of the lords of the Pale, was heard first before the lord deputy, and afterwards referred by appeal to England; and it was given against them, as it concerned a fine customary to be levied, and dependant on the queen's prerogative. The defendants agents in England and themselves in Ireland, were imprisoned and were not released till they had submitted to this oppression.

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oppression.—The tax, however, was ascertained and reduced to five marks for every acre of plow-land ; but the severities practised on this occasion were at least impolitic, if they were not absolutely unjust, and the court found sufficient occasion to repent of them afterwards.

Ireland had already been represented to the queen as in a deplorable state, and the methods taken by the administration of that country, even under those who were reputed the wisest of their governors, were not always the most politic ones that could have been hit upon. — At this time, to increase the public confusion, Rory Oge, the Irish partisan, levied an equal number of men, with whom he committed many depredations upon the English, and was in general very successful. Once, being surrounded unawares, having only his wife and an old man with him, he cut his way through the troops, and made his escape under favour of the night, while his English adversaries were by some said to have been cruel enough to put his two helpless companions to the sword. At length, however, endeavouring to surprise Fitz Patrick, lord of Upper Ossory, for whom he laid an ambush, this extraordinary man was slain, and that part of the country delivered from their fears.

If the queen had broken her faith to the Desmond family, they were now resolved to turn the tables upon her ; for though, at this very time, the earl of that name was intent upon encouraging all the revolvers, yet he acted so cautiously that it was not easily possible to entrap him.—He is even said to have sent intelligence of a vessel's arrival at Sligo with French and Irish on board, in order to raise an insurrection in Connaught.—And when the president Drury
went

went to Dublin to complain that the earl kept an unruly rabble, and would not appear upon his summons, the lord deputy sending his order, Desmond came immediately, and excused himself for not having appeared before Drury, because, he said, he was his mortal enemy.

The king of Spain confederating with the pope, had resolved to assist the catholics of Ireland, and one Stukely having been first invested with several titles, and furnished with a band of eight hundred men, was designed to have been sent over to their aid; but he receiving an invitation to serve under Sebastian, king of Portugal, who had undertaken his African expedition, consented to go with him, upon condition that that prince, after his own war was finished, should join him in his descent upon Ireland. The event was, that the Portuguese were totally defeated, their king Sebastian slain, and Stukely and his men cut in pieces; which entirely overthrew this grand plan of operation.

The deputy having desired to be recalled, was ordered to surrender to Sir William Drury, who being sworn in Christ Church, in the middle of September, made a journey into Munster in the latter end of the same month, and afterwards, in his way to Limerick, lay at Castleton, where he is said to have been much concerned when he heard that the tenants were cessed for his entertainment.

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He found the earls of Desmond and Glencar in high disputes about the boundaries of their lands, as also were the Butlers and Geraldines, and it seems that these disputes would have been determined by the sword, if he himself had not interposed, and effected a kind of temporary reconciliation.

While

While these things were passing, James Fitz Maurice having solicited aid of France in vain, applied himself to the Spaniards, eighty of whom, together with some English and Irish catholics, landed from three ships at Smerwick and afterwards drew up the vessels under a little fort, which they had erected with all imaginable expedition; nevertheless, these vessels were taken soon afterwards by captain Courtenay, who happened at that time to be with one of the queen's ships at Kinsale.

On the other hand, Sir John and James of Desmond hastened to their cousin James Fitz Maurice, as soon as they had intelligence of this invasion. The earl, who was busied in building a castle when he received the news, discharged the workmen, and made as if he would oppose the Spaniards; yet he encouraged them underhand; but this did not satisfy them, for being disappointed in their hopes of a powerful support from the natives, they entertained thoughts of returning home; which it is very probable they would have done, but that James Fitz Maurice promised them powerful assistance; however, he was prevented from keeping his word, being slain in a private quarrel, by the sons of Clanrickard, in the county of Limerick, as he was upon a journey, the design of which was to levy men, and join them to the forces of the invaders.

The lord deputy hearing of these commotions, marched, accompanied by the marshal Bagnal, Malby, Wingfield, Fitton, Masterfon, and others, at the head of the army, in order to oppose the insurgents. He sent for the earl of Desmond likewise to come to his camp, who obeying the summons, was at first imprisoned, but set at liberty again, upon more mature consideration.—Then the royal army went in quest of Sir John Desmond

mond, who was at the head of the revolvers, but pursued him a long time from place to place in vain.—However, a detachment under the captains Herbert and Price, had the ill fortune to fall in with some of his troops, when they least expected them, and being ensnared in an ambush, were slain with most of their soldiers.

But now the deputy having made another fruitless expedition, in which he was unable to come to an engagement with the enemy, finding himself sick, he withdrew from the army, which he left under the command of Sir Nicholas Malby, and soon after died, but not before he had knighted several gentlemen for the good services they had done the English government.

It was not long before Malby making an incursion into Connilo, came up with Sir John Desmond at Monaster Neva, whom he defeated after an obstinate resistance, having slain about two hundred of his men.

Though the earl of Desmond affected to hold himself neuter, and surveyed the battle from a neighbouring hill, nay though he sent messengers to congratulate Malby on his victory, yet soon after he made an attempt to surprize the English camp in the night, but his design being betrayed by some of his scouts that were taken prisoners, it miscarried; nevertheless on account of the deputy's death, and possibly still more on account of the loss sustained in the night-encounter, the English struck their tents, and forsaking their camps, and removed to Askeaton being harrassed all the way, and obliged to maintain frequent skirmishes with the enemy.—And at length finding little else was to be done at this time, Malby placing Sir William Stanley and captain Carew at Adare, sent the rest of the army into garrisons in different

different parts of the country; whereupon the Irish (whose historians will not even allow that they lost the battle of Monaster Neva) followed and besieged Adare, the garrison of which durst not stir out, till hunger inspired them with courage, and then they passed the river into the right of the Glin's country, where they were at first successful, but they stayed so long that at length they were encountered by the knight and Sir John Desmond with a body of Irish and Spaniards, however they made good their retreat, after a long and tedious dispute, many falling on both sides.

Sir William Pelham was the person pitched upon to succeed the deceased deputy, and being sworn lord justice, the council sitting, dispatched letters to all the considerable men amongst the Irish, in order to excite them to loyalty, among whom Pheagh Mac Hugh and Turlogh Lynogh were remembered.——They likewise appointed the earl of Ormond to be governor, and Warham Saintleger provost-marshal of Ulster, and Desmond having previously given up his son as an hostage for his fidelity, they ordered the child to be safely kept in the castle of Dublin. The new lord justice afterwards went into Munster, where he held sessions, and then reconciled the earl of Ormond, who came to him at Munster, with the lord of Upper Ossory; ——he also sent a summons to the earl of Desmond to repair to him, that he might reconcile him with Sir Nicholas Malby; but the earl would not come, yet he sent his countess with letters, in consequence of which Ormond was dispatched to treat with him, but the other complaining of old grievances, they came to no conclusion; and the lord justice, imagining that he was trifled with, and supposing Desmond on all accounts inclined to favour the other party, he proclaimed him

him a traitor, unless he should surrender within twenty days, which the earl was so far from doing, that he now openly joined himself with the revoltors, and wrote to the lord justice to inform him, that he was entered into a league for the defence of the catholic faith, and exhorting him to do the same; besides this he sent circular letters to as many of the great men of Leinster as he imagined were likely to favour his purpose, exhorting them to join him and his allies, telling them of the great support he expected to derive from king Philip, and finally promising if they would come in, never to enter into any treaty of peace without them.

After these things were transacted, both sides prepared for war; on the one hand, Ormond invaded Connilo, and killed and took prisoners most of the inhabitants, and was very near surprising the earl himself at Newcastle; and besides this, the soldiers of both chiefs had a smart skirmish, in which Ormond, having many men slain, in revenge burned the country round, and then marched to Cork with his army. — On the other hand, Desmond's troops had taken the town of Youghall, by scalade, the loss of which so exasperated the English, that they wreaked their revenge upon the mayor, who being taken by Ormond, was condemned and hanged before his own door, on an accusation of having first undertaken to defend the tower against the enemy without a garrison, and afterwards surrendering without endeavouring to oppose them. — Whether this were true or not, the sentence was executed upon the victim, to the great satisfaction (as we are told) of Elizabeth, who could not otherwise be appeased for the disgrace she had suffered by the loss of this town, in which not one person, except a poor friar, was left, and to which they
were

were obliged to invite the old inhabitants to return by proclamation.

Ormond now made very great preparations to recover the castle of Sangically from the Spaniards, who deserting it at the sight of the army, fled over the water, but were so closely pursued that the greater part of them were slain, and a garrison was put in the castle, in order to hold it for the English.

In January the lord justice came from Dublin, by the sea coast to Wexford, where he kept sessions, and from thence to Waterford, where he met Ormond; and there he had information that the insurgents drew near to Dungannon, on which he sent out Captain Zouch, with a body of five hundred men to oppose them.

After this the lord justice and Ormond met at Racell, and afterwards invaded Connilo, burning and spoiling the lands and afterwards dividing, they burned the country of Sterclogher, and are said to have slain four hundred men in these excursions.

Sir William next resolved to besiege the fort of Carrigfoyle which was garrisoned with fifty Irishmen and nineteen Spaniards, under the command of an Italian named Julio, which he caused to be battered till a breach was made, at which the English entering, put about fifty to the sword, and having taken six others, executed them in the camp; putting to death both Irish and Spaniards, in open violation of the law of nation and in contradiction to every principle of honour and humanity. Those who can tell such a story, though of their enemies, with an air of triumph, must be so devoid of every noble sentiment, that they scarcely deserved to be ranked among human beings.—Julio, the commander, being taken among the rest, was kept for a few days, and at last hanged, to gratify the insatiable revenge of the victors.

The

The taking of Carrigfoyle was followed likewise by the reduction of Askeaton, which the garrison deserted in the night, and of Ballyloghane, which was likewise abandoned by those who held it, but not till they had laid a train of gunpowder in order to blow it up, which did some mischief, but failed of damaging the principal towers.

The lord justice having thus deprived Desmond of all his castles, leaving four companies at Askeaton, returned to Dublin, putting his army in garrison.

In May this year the pope granted the same plenary indulgences as those bestowed upon the Croifaders to such of the Irish as would bear arms against queen Elizabeth; and in the same month the queen sent over a commission of martial law to the lord Roch and Sir Cormac Mac Teig of Muskerry, with a power to give a protection for fifteen days to any but the principal leaders of the revoltors.

A mutiny at this time arose among the soldiers, occasioned by the army's being ill-paid; and some of them refused to march with Ormond over the mountains into Kerny; however the lord justice found means to appease the tumult, and thought proper, from motives of safety, that the mutineers should be pardoned.

And now the popish lords were summoned to appear before the lord justice at Limerick, to answer for a charge brought against them of negligence in prosecuting the insurgents, and also of holding secret correspondence with them; all of them however (the lord Barry excepted) promised loyalty, put in pledges, and were ordered to maintain two thousand men during the continuance of the war.

Sir Cormac Mac Teig being at that time sheriff of the county of Cork, James of Desmond

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invaded

invaded Muskerry, whereupon Sir Cormac's brother assembling a body of men, attacked him, and after a very smart battle, defeated the revolters, and took James himself prisoner, who being delivered to Sir Warham Saintleger, was hanged as a rebel at Cork.

A strange sickness, called afterwards The gentle correction, seized the whole English army this summer; it attacked them in the head, rendered them senseless for two or three days, and then generally went off of itself, but was scarcely ever known to prove mortal, though its beginning was so violent, that there seldom appeared to be any hopes of recovery.—This, like many other epidemic diseases, seems to have arisen from vapours drawn up into the air, fuming from fens, bogs and standing waters, and other unwholesome spots of an uncultivated and neglected country.

The army of Ormond now spread themselves in two divisions over different parts of the revolters lands; one party directing their course to Castle-Island, and the other to Traley in Kerry; there meeting again, they were divided into three parts, and (as Cox phrases it) drove the whole country before them, taking eight thousand cows, besides Garrons (*i. e.* Irish horses) sheep, &c.—and killed many persons, and would have destroyed more, if Sir William Winter, the English admiral moved with compassion had not granted these miserable wretches protections.

Arthur, lord Grey, the new lord deputy now landing at Dublin, demanded the sword, which however was not surrendered to him till the present lord justice had established such regulations as he thought fit, and then he delivered it up, not without seeming reluctance. Lord Grey's instructions were,—To assure the Irish of the queen's protection and favour, if they would behave so

as to deserve it.—To hinder the soldiers from oppressing the subjects.—To endeavour to shorten the war.—To continue the justice of Munster, and increase his allowance at pleasure.—To disband as many of the new soldiers as could be spared after All-hallow-tide, and to secure their arms.—And, not to grant pardons or protections, but upon especial reasons, and then to mention the crime in their pardon.

Fitz Gerald and his company disapproving the new religion, had revolted and gone over to the lord Baltinglass, and these being joined by Pheagh Mac Hugh, and other enemies to the government, Lord Grey had notice that they had posted themselves in the fastnesses of Glendilogh, in the county of Wicklow, and that their number was daily increasing; on which, without considering what an advantageous post they occupied, he detached a party to attack them. One Cosby who understood military matters well, and was to go upon this expedition, would have dissuaded the English from undertaking it, but lord Grey's orders were positive, and therefore they advanced to the attack, while the deputy himself, with his horse, scoured the neighbouring plain. But the Irish were unanimous, resolute, well acquainted with the country, and posted in a place which was rendered almost inaccessible. Woods and deep bogs (Nature's own fortifications) secured them, and they had opportunities of placing their ambuscades in such a manner that it was impossible for their enemies to assail them, without falling in these snares. However, the English advanced to the charge with great valour and vigour, but they quickly found the difference between this kind of fighting and that which they were accustomed to practise on the open plain. After an obstinate

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contest

contest, they were routed with great slaughter, leaving eight hundred men dead upon the spot, amongst whom were Sir Peter Carew, colonel Moor, and the captains Audely and Cosby; at the death of the latter of whom the Irish more particularly rejoiced, for they looked upon him as the most cruel of men, and their writers say he used to hang up Irishmen whether guilty or innocent, wherever he could catch them; but this story seems to be exaggerated; for though many enormities were winked at during these civil wars, yet I cannot think such a practice could ever be allowed of under an English government in any part of the earth: however, it seems he was a very savage and barbarous man, and met with a fit end, in falling amidst heaps of slaughtered bodies. The carnage would have been still greater if the deputy had not come with his horse, and with difficulty brought off the rest of the troops, and withdrawn with them in all haste from the scene of action.

And in the September following, about seven hundred Spaniards and Italians landed at Smerwick in Kerry, who built a fortress, which they called Fort del Ore.—This Ormond marched up to, and the garrison at first retired from it, but afterwards perceiving the smallness of his force, they returned to it again, and made a sally upon the English, whereupon Ormond retreated in his turn, finding the troops he had with him by no means equal to the undertaking.

Sir William Winter being now returned, he blocked up the fortress by sea, while the lord deputy besieged it by land; and after a siege of four days the Spaniards surrendered to the English, who behaved in the same unworthy manner as they had done at Carrigfoyle; for they put all the gar-

garrison to death except the commanders, (the Irish say, except the governor) at which some pretend to assert the queen was very angry, but that is hardly probable.

The deputy then returned to Dingle, where the earl of Ormond met him with fresh supplies, and having left captain Zouch, governor of Kerry and Desmond, went to Limerick, and from thence to Dublin.—The earl of Kildare and his son-in-law the lord Delvin, being suspected of favouring the catholic cause in Leinster, were committed to safe custody; on which the lord Henry Fitz Gerald retired into Ophaly; but falling into the hands of the O'Connors, on his being demanded, they delivered him up to the lord deputy, who sent him over to England, together with his father and the baron of Delvin, and they were all three confined in the Tower of London.

A plot was at this time said to be laid to surprise the deputy and seize the castle of Dublin, for which John Nugent (one of the barons of the exchequer) and others suffered; but whether they were guilty or not is a matter which yet remains doubtful.

But Zouch, who had been left governor of Munster, after various skirmishes with the rebels, found means to surprise Sir John Desmond and James the son of John Fitz-Gerald, while they were attempting to reconcile a difference between David Barry and the seneschal of Imokilly, who lay encamped on the other side of a river. Sir John therefore and his companion passing that river, in order to go over to them in person, Zouch having intelligence of it, placed an ambush in a wood, into which they unexpectedly fell. Sir John making a stout resistance, was mortally wounded, and died as they were conveying him away prisoner, and the other was executed as a traitor.—

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After

After this, Zouch falling upon Barry's army, which had committed great depredations in the country, reduced him to a submission, and thus, in some measure, rendered things more quiet in the province.

But the army being reduced, on account of these successes, the lord of Lixnaw complaining of some injuries that he said he had received from the governor, was the next that rose in arms, and with such success that he took two castles, slew many English, and ravaged at pleasure over the counties of Ormond, Tipperary, and Waterford; but having received two defeats from the English forces, he submitted, and by means of the earl of Ormond at length obtained a pardon.

Ulick and John Burk at this time had a dispute, their father being dead, concerning the inheritance of his titles and possessions; but the affair being referred to commissioners, it was settled that Ulick should have Lough Reagh, and that the commissioners should intercede also for him that he might be created baron of Leitrim.

In the midst of all this, the lord deputy having been accused of various misdemeanors, and in particular of cruelty towards the queen's Irish subjects, was recalled by that politic princess, who, perhaps meant by this step (among other designs) to shew her moderation, and the love she bore to all those whom she governed;—however that was, leaving Ireland in August, he committed the care of the island to Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin and lord chancellor, and Sir Henry Wallops, treasurer at war, as lord justices.

All this time the earl of Desmond was in great distress, and often narrowly escaped with his life and liberty, from those who indefatigably pursued him. At length he put himself into the hands of one Goron Mac Swiney, who was himself under protection,

tection; but Goron being slain by some of the Irish whose cattle he had made free with, the earl from that time despaired of meeting with any relief after this. Being in great want of provisions, he sent some of his servants to forage, who plundering a poor woman of the Moriarta family of all her stock, she complained to her brother, who applied himself so effectually to the English governor of Castlemaine, that a party of seven musqueteers, and eight kernes were sent out in quest of the plunderers. These following the track of the castle, entered a cabin in the wood called Gleann Ginky, where the leader of the soldiers found an old man sitting by the fire, whom he desperately hurt with his sword, and when the wounded person crying out that he was the earl of Desmond, he cut off his head, which was afterwards sent to England, and set on a pole upon London bridge. And thus ended this revolt, in the death of Gerald, the fifteenth earl of Desmond, which greatly dispirited the Irish catholics, and much encouraged the protestants, who had found cause to regard him as a formidable enemy. And on receiving the news of his death, the lord viscount Baltinglass quitted Ireland, and withdrew to Spain, where he afterwards died.—About this time Sir Nicholas Bagnall and Sir Lucas Dillon, commissioners of Ulster, established a truce between Turlogh Lynogh, and O'Donnel, and persuaded them to put in pledges to submit their differences to arbitration.

Sir John Perrot was the next lord deputy, who had a very extensive commission, and brought over a long catalogue of instructions from the queen, which were intended for the regulation and good government of the kingdom.—Having taken the advice of the council, he issued a proclamation of oblivion and indemnity. Afterwards he began a progress, in the course of which he is said to have

intercepted a messenger who had, in vain, been endeavouring to excite the Irish lords and gentlemen of Munster to a new revolt; but at the same time, he received intelligence that a thousand Scots, on the part of Surleboy, had invaded Ulster;—and having taken pledges of Pheagh Mac Hugh, and many others, when he had finished his progress, he returned for that time to Dublin.

But in the month of August succeeding, he set out with an army from that city, and went to Newry, where he received pledges of Turlogh Lynogh, and others; then he scoured the country, and ordered some ships to Loughfoyle, to attack the Scots; but these, being aware of their danger, were beforehand with him, and embarked for Scotland previous to their coming up, almost in sight of the English army.

Then he proceeded to spoil the country of the Brian Carrows, and obliged Surleboy to withdraw his troops and cattle, and to fly before him, and afterwards having taken Dunluce, Surleboy himself submitted.

Next he proceeded to divide Ulster into counties and to persuade the inhabitants to refer their disputes to legal decision, and to hold their estates by English tenures; amongst whom was Turlogh Lynogh, who was summoned to parliament, and to whom the deputy presented robes made in the English fashion; and in this parliament four archbishops, twenty bishops and many great earls were present.

—But the Scots again invaded Ireland, against whom the lord deputy determined to send the baron Dungannon, marching also into the north himself, and sending an embassy to the king of Scotland, to intreat that he would prevent his people from plundering the Irish subjects, and command restitution to be made of what had been unjustly taken from them. Nevertheless, though it is said he received a favourable

favourable answer, yet four hundred Scots landed in the island, who were joined by Con Mac Neal and others, but were defeated by captain Stafford, and passing the Ban were close pursued by him and the baron Dungannon, so that they retreated from place to place, till at last captain Merriman, who heard, that in this their retreat they had a design to assail Strabare, marched all night in order to surprise them, but coming up to them, found them prepared to receive him, on which an engagement ensued, but Merriman vanquishing Alexander Mac Surly the Scottish leader, in single combat, his troops were routed, and victory declared in favour of the English.

But notwithstanding all his successes this lord deputy was recalled by the queen, when at length he went to England, and was accused of many crimes, and being of a haughty disposition spoke some rash words against her majesty, which, in her opinion, outweighed them all; so that being deserted by his friends, abandoned by the queen, and closely pressed by his enemies, he was condemned to suffer, though the execution of the sentence was prevented by his dying suddenly in the tower of London,

Hugh, baron of Dungannon, passing over to England, was by the queen created earl of Tyrone, having the whole country granted him, discharged of the rent that he had formerly promised the deputy, on condition that he should disclaim any title to the rest of Ulster, and that he should provide for Turlogh Lynogh, and the sons of Shane O'Neal—And the baron is said even to have solicited the queen to suppress the name of O'Neal, though we find himself assuming it in the sequel.

Secretary Fenton was at this time sent over into England to give the queen an account of the state of the Irish government, and received
a long

his other complaints were alike disregarded by the queen, and the matter ended as we have above related.

During the latter part of his administration, the Irish made many complaints against the English and against each other; in the latter case Turlogh Lynogh accused the earl of Tyrone of levying cess, and of oppressing the country; in the former, O'Rourk had (in all probability with justice) accused Bingham of oppressive proceedings; in which case the deputy advised O'Rourk to be more obedient, and Bingham to be less arbitrary in his government, who returned an answer which little became him, before the council, and which perhaps would not have been passed by so lightly, if the deputy had not been upon the point of being recalled, which possibly was the occasion of his brooking this treatment.

Sir William Fitz-Williams succeeded as lord deputy, who was sworn the 30th day of June, in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-eight; and soon after his coming over, the Spanish armada coasting about Scotland, seventeen of their ships were wrecked upon the Irish coast, whereby much treasure fell into the hands of the natives, which the queen, by her prerogative, claimed as her property. On this, the deputy went into Ulster, probably with a view of sharing in the plunder; but his journey not answering the end for which he designed it, he imprisoned Sir Owen O'Tool and O'Dogharty, though they were well affected to the state, merely in order to gratify his private revenge, being enraged beyond measure at his disappointment.

The shipwrecked Spaniards being entertained by the Irish who would not suffer them to be assaulted, whilst under their protection, created fresh matter of dispute between the Catholics and the govern-

government, which latter pursued these fugitives with an implacable and unrelenting hatred.—Bingham levied troops to chastise the Irish on this occasion; they met him with an inferior force in the field, and in consequence were vanquished yet they made a gallant retreat, and were still bent upon keeping their faith with their guests.

However, O'Rourk, who commanded the malecontents upon the above occasion quarrelling with another of the Irish leaders, was deserted by most parts of his soldiers, and obliged to take refuge with James of Scotland.—But that prince having been lately reconciled with Elizabeth, notwithstanding the death of his mother Mary, to serve his own private interest, delivered up the fugitives to the English government, who immediately caused him to be hanged at Tyburn.—

In the mean time the earl of Tyrone did as much for one who accused him of treason; and afterwards repaired to England, in order personally to justify himself before the queen, and to renew his covenants and agreements with her.—At first he was confined for having made the voyage, without a licence from the lord deputy, but upon submission was discharged; and offered to give hostages to the queen for his performance of certain articles, and then he was favourably entertained by her majesty “Chiefly (says Cox) because he advised the suppression of the name of O'Neal.” This indeed had been a favourite point, which the English government had long laboured to carry into execution; for it was their maxim, as it has been that of many other nations, that nothing could so effectually subdue a people as taking from them the remembrance (if possible) of their ancient laws, customs, names, families and descent, for all of which most nations entertaining an enthusiastic reverence, can
feldom

seldom be easily brought to adopt the manners of new conquerors, or to adopt their sway.

It was upon this foundation that Edward the First is said to have adopted that barbarous policy of destroying all the British bards, who were continually employed in reciting old histories, and inspiring the principal of their countrymen with the flame of heroism, by repeating to them the glorious exploits of those chiefs from whom they were lineally descended.—The family of O'Neal we have seen was one of the most honourable amongst the ancient Irish, the earl of Tyrone was a reputed bastard scion of that noble stock, and for that reason it was not imagined he would assume the name himself, and it appeared likely that it would not be consistent with his interest for any other to assume it; on which account the queen concluded, that he was in earnest in his desire of having it totally extinguished.—Yet, with all her subtilty and policy, she here overshot her mark, as will abundantly appear in the sequel of this history.

It has been mentioned that Tyrone offered hostages for the performances of his articles with the queen; but he had stipulated that these should be delivered in Ireland to be kept at some gentleman's or merchant's house, and to be exchanged every three months. When, after his return, he was pressed by the lord deputy to perform his promise, he made use of many shifts and delays, and said that the same security ought to be required of his neighbours.—The sons of Shane O'Neal, O'Donnel's sons, and Philip O'Reily escaping out of Dublin, Art, one of them, died by the way, but the other three reaching Ulster, two of these (sons of Shane) fell into Tyrone's hands, who refused either to deliver them up to the deputy, or to set them at liberty to shift for them.

themselves. The next thing he did was to marry marshal Bagnall's sister, tho' he had another wife then living; and soon after his men wounded some of Turlogh's in a skirmish; however he excused himself in both these matters in a letter to the council.—As to the former, he said that he had formally and lawfully divorced his first wife, and, as to the latter, that Turlogh's people were attacked because they were spoiling his country.

Tyrone also entertained a friendship with Hugh Roe, who was one of the prisoners that had escaped out of Dublin castle, and was now become O'Donnel by his father's death, and surprised the castle of Montrose, which he said was done only to make O'Donnel a good subject; nevertheless the government of Ireland entertained such suspicions of him and his, that when the council was sitting at Monaghan, in order to settle the county on the queen's patentees, they were alarmed at the news that Con, Tyrone's son, was approaching, though they had a guard of an hundred soldiers;—for which however when Tyrone was blamed, he answered, "That they were frightened only at the sight of two horsemen, for that there were no more near at the time of the alarm." Nevertheless the English believed there was great reason to think otherwise.

But this was only a trifle to what followed:—Indeed even at this time the Irish rose in arms as usual, in different parts of the island.—Connor was up in Connaught and O'Donnel in Ulster. Mac Guire also, the chief of Fermenagh, took arms, alledging that he had paid for his country, to be excused from a sheriff, notwithstanding which there was one appointed, whose followers were guilty of many excesses.

On the news being told the lord deputy, he proclaimed Mac Guire a traitor, invaded Fermenagh, and took Iniskilling. Nevertheless, Mac Guire, on his

A. D.
1593

his part, made an incursion into Connaught, but his forces were routed by Bingham, under whom Tyrone served and received a wound in his thigh in an encounter with the revolvers.

Sir William Ruffel the youngest son of Francis earl of Bedford, was next sworn lord deputy, and at the same time the government received intelligence that Tyrone's brother Cormac Mac Baron, who at that time besieged Iniskilling, had defeated the English army, amounting to six hundred foot and forty-six horse, upon which Sir Richard Bingham, who was sent to the relief of that place, returned to Dublin, and immediately afterwards tidings were brought of the landing of two thousand five hundred Scots in the northern part of the Island.

In consequence of all this; an order was made for what they called a general hothing, and that the lord deputy leaving Ormond to defend the pale should march to the relief of Iniskilling, being attended by half the council.

In the mean time the earl of Tyrone himself came to the council board, and making many protestations of his loyalty was honourably dismissed, notwithstanding marshal Bagnel under whom he had served, offered to prove him guilty of treason.

A. D. 1594. The deputy marching from Dublin on the 19th of August, after passing bogs and rivers, and encountering many difficulties, entered Iniskilling castle, and relieved the place without meeting with any opposition.—But while these things were doing, Walter Riagh with a party of the revolvers burned Crumlin—But the deputy returning restored peace there, and many of Walter Riagh's men being with his brothers slain, and he himself afterwards taken and hanged in chains at Dublin.

Tyrone

Tyrone was now publicly in arms and Monaghan besieged by Mac Guire and Mac Mahon, however, raised the siege at the approach of the English: nevertheless Tyrone with a considerable force endeavoured to cut off the retreat of the latter, and encountered them in a narrow pass where they would have been probably cut off, if the Irish had not wanted powder to continue the engagement; as it was they were much harassed, but however very happily escaping from this danger, they took a different way from that which their enemies expected they would have chosen, and by that stratagem got safe to Newry.—In the mean time the Burks took the castle of Sligo, and put captain George Bingham and the Ward to the sword; while, on the other hand, Sir John Norris arrived (with a re-inforcement from England under his conduct) with the title of Lord General, and a special commission intitling him to the sole command of the army in Ulster, between whom and the lord deputy there were some bickerings, nevertheless they agreed this time to join, and accordingly marched to Dundalk together.—From thence the army, after various marches and counter-marches, the enemy often appearing in their rear, came to Dublin without any thing being achieved on either side, worth mentioning in this history.

But on the 11th of August succeeding, general Norris marched the army northward, nevertheless he could not hinder Tyrone from driving away all the live cattle from Newry; there was indeed a skirmish between the armies, in which both the Norrises were wounded, and the Irish seem to have had the advantage, though no considerable execution was done on either part.

Pheagh Mac Hugh at this time made his sub-cox. mission, and the deputy set out towards Galway

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expecting the Burks to do the same; but they, instead of coming to meet him, contented themselves with sending him a paper, filled with complaints against Sir Richard Bingham.

In the mean time many overtures towards a peace with France were made by the queen's commissioners, which some English writers have been very particular in describing; however it may suffice here to say, that they ended in nothing more than a truce from time to time, which was ill planned and still worse observed, Tyrone being by much too artful for those that had to deal with him, and generally over-reaching them even in their own politics.

Surleboy now made his submission, but Connaught was in a bad situation; in particular, Mac Coghlan's country was spoiled by the Irish and Scots, who had passed the Shannon; but the deputy advancing towards them, soon gave them a check; and in this expedition he made himself master of O'Madden's castle, though the garrison, when summoned, had returned for answer, That they would not surrender if all the besiegers were Deputies, as well as he who led them.

A. D.
1596

At length Tyrone's pardon, the negotiating which had taken so much time, was signed and sent to Sir Edward Moor to be delivered to him; and the queen is said to have expressed great satisfaction at the prospect of a pacification with him and the malecontents of Ireland; but when the earl should have received it, he was out of the way, and, in effect, delayed taking it till the twenty-second of July, when he consented to put in his pledges, but refused to renounce foreign aid upon oath; however, he promised loyalty and obedience; and so, for that time, the matter concluded.

But

But Pheagh Mac Hugh broke out into open war, against whom the deputy marched, and encamping at Rothdrome, slew some of his adherents, and took much spoil; he also caused two of their chief's pledges to be hanged up in the camp, but effected nothing of consequence. While he was thus employed, the earl of Ormond was opposed to the Butlers, and Sir Anthony Saintleger to the O'Mores and O'Connors.

But Tyrone himself now attacked Ardmagh, great part of the garrison of which he surprised and slew, by stratagem, while his son-in-law, Henry Oge, entered the Pale in a hostile manner; he also endeavoured to surprize Carlingford castle, and refused to let any relief be brought to Blackwater, endeavouring, as much as possible, to favour the cause of the disaffected Irish in Leinster.

The catholic writers enlarge much upon these and other of their favourite's feats; but I do not find that they are willing to do the same in regard to his negotiations for peace and pardon, the relations of which are mostly confirmed by good authorities.—There is a certain inexcusable partiality in men that are attached to a party, which renders them blind to justice and solicitous of promoting the fame of their own partisans, though at the expence of truth and honour, and every principle of action that ought to be considered between men and Christians. In the case of the Irish insurgents, before they were reduced, and incorporated in a manner as one body with the English nation, a moderate man might find something to urge in their defence, if it were not for the notorious hypocrisy some of them exhibited in submitting so often, even without compulsion, and as often breaking that peace which they had solemnly sworn to.—But where *these things* are so apparent,

rent the perjured man will always disgrace the patriot, and the low designing sycophant will dishonour even the best cause in the world.

Incensed at Tyrone's behaviour, the lord deputy and council wrote him a letter full of upbraiding, but he was not to seek for an answer: he said, he had done nothing without provocation, and justified his revolt by charging the state with prosecuting Pheagh Mac Hugh, whom he looked upon as his particular friend and ally.

In the succeeding January, Sir Richard Bingham, who appears to have been a very austere and cruel governor, was removed, on account of many complaints levied against him, and in his room was placed Sir Conyers Clifford.

In the middle of the same month general Norris met Tyrone, whom he complimented on account of his having advised the government to take moderate measures; and permitted Ardmagh to be re-victualled, which was a matter he had before most strenuously opposed. However, he evaded coming to any terms with the general, who at length finding himself egregiously trifled with, put an end to a treaty, in which he perceived the other was not in earnest.

After much pursuit, the deputy at last had the fortune to kill Pheagh Mac Hugh, and to take much spoil in his country, but soon after he was re-called, and Thomas, lord Burroughs sent in his room, ordered general Norris to his presidency of Munster, which affront being put upon one who was newly disappointed of the chief government himself, had such an effect upon him, that it is said to have broken his heart.

This deputy having put his troops in motion, marched from Dublin, and in their progress took the fort of Blackwater; nevertheless, after they had won it, they had a skirmish with the Irish,

in

towards Ardmagh, leaving near two thousand soldiers dead upon the field of battle, most of their baggage, artillery, and colours, falling into the hands of the enemy, to whom Blackwater was surrendered, in consequence of this important victory.

Elizabeth was extremely concerned when she knew of this defeat, and blamed Ormond much for not having taken the command of the troops himself, though Marshal Bagnall was an experienced officer, to succeed whom Sir Richard Bingham was appointed; but he dying, Sir Samuel Bagnall was sent with two thousand foot, and one hundred horse, who on the news of this disaster were ordered to Carlingford.

Tyrone having sent Rory Owny Mac Oge into Munster with forces which those of the government were not able effectually to oppose, made James Fitz Thomas, earl of Desmond:—and all the Irish of the province were up in arms, and began to ravage the lands of the English, and to destroy them wherever they found them.

The queen had now cast her eyes upon the lord Mountjoy, with intent of sending him over chief governor of Ireland; but his interest failed before that of Robert Devereux, the queen's great favourite, who was sent over with the fullest powers and the greatest forces that had ever been bestowed upon any of her governors. He had commission for disposing of the rebels lands, and of executing martial law upon their persons: he had the placing and displacing of all officers that had not patents, and the superseding of those who were furnished with them:—he was well supplied as to the establishment of his treasure, and had an army of twenty thousand foot, and thirteen hundred horse under him. Nevertheless, it must be owned that he found the island in a very bad
state,



Robert Devereux Earl of
ESSEX.

state, above twenty thousand rebels being in arms in the different provinces, many of whom had publicly sworn to live and die in the defence of their religion, an oath which at that time included a solemn resolution of never submitting to the English government.

Though the instructions of Essex were in particular to reduce Ulster to obedience, yet this he strangely neglected to attempt; and, as if he had meant to lengthen out the war, he suffered the revolted of that province to proceed in their depredations, whilst, instead of striking at the root of these troubles, he contented himself with lopping the smaller branches, and marched into Munster, where he had a few skirmishes with Tyrone, earl of Desmond (called the Sungan earl) and after some other little successes scarcely worth noticing, is said to have been baffled and harassed by Owen O'More, and this earl of Desmond, who hung upon his rear for several days, and did him considerable damage. Certain it is, that his army was much diminished without having made any great achievements; and while he was thus employed, he had the mortification to hear, that both the Spaniards and the Scots had supplied Tyrone with ammunition, and that he was treating with the latter to assist him with forces against the English government.—About the same time Sir Henry Harrington, with six hundred men, whom Essex had left in the glinns, were defeated by the O'Brians, and being accused of having contributed to it by their own fault, were severely, (if not barbarously) punished, by the lord general.

It was not long before Essex heard that the queen was angry at his misconduct; whereupon he assured her by letter, that he would with all speed march to Ulster; nevertheless he first made

an expedition into Leix and Ophaly against the O'Mores and the O'Connors, which so much diminished his army, that he was obliged to send to England for a supply of a thousand men; and, in the mean time Clifford governor of Connaught, whom he had sent to Belick to distress Tyrone, was defeated and slain by the insurgents and his troops in danger of being all cut in pieces, which would have been the case, had they not been brought off by the horse, who came in timely to their assistance.

The supply arriving, Essex still neglected to prosecute the war against Tyrone, and by a conduct which at this distance of time it is hard to account for, he only marched with a body of about five hundred men, to the borders of the province where he parleyed with him, and concluded on a truce for six weeks, which was continued from one six weeks to another, either party being at liberty to break it upon fourteen days notice. But the queen disapproving this part of his conduct more than all the rest, receiving a sharp letter from her upon that subject, the infatuated Essex quitted Ireland without waiting for his recall, and presented himself before the English court, the consequence of which step was his ruin; for after having been provoked to break out into open rebellion, and what was at that time still worse, having spoken disrespectfully of his royal paramour, he was executed, in pursuance to a sentence passed upon him, in the Tower of London, on Ash-Wednesday in the year sixteen hundred and one.

Adam Loftus lord chancellor and Sir George Cary, treasurer at war, being lord justices, Tyrone grew extremely haughty, and instead of talking of submission, (as he had hitherto always done in the midst of his wars) he now declared that he would never lay down his arms till he had restored

ed the catholic religion and the liberty and independancy of his country. He gave fourteen days notice also, that he would break the truce. He made a journey into Munster, attended by two thousand five hundred horse, where he spirited up the people to insurrection, deposed Daniel Mac Carthy More, and placed Florence Mac Cathy in his stead, took pledges of him, whom they called The White Knight, and of many others whose zeal the cause he doubted, and plundered the lands of such as absolutely refused to engage in his schemes.

In the mean time, Sir Thomas Norris, lord president of Munster, died of a wound he had received in a skirmish, and one of the commissioners of that province was assaulted and slain by Mac Guire, as he was taking the air near Cork. Therefore Sir George Carew was appointed lord president of Munster, and the queen likewise sent over the lord Montjoy as lord deputy, who on his arrival issued a proclamation, tending to satisfy such persons as had furnished the army with money or diet since the first day of Sir William Russel's government.

This lord deputy being at Kilkenny in the month of April, was invited by the earl of Ormond to go with him a few miles, in order to parley with Owen Mac Rory O'More, to which he consented, and the consequence was, that contrary to the laws of honour, the Irish chief made Ormond his prisoner, and the lord deputy and the earl of Thomond, would doubtless have shared the same fate, if they had not saved themselves by flight, escaping merely by the swiftness of their horses. The catholic writers attempt to justify this piece of treachery—They say that O'More ^{Geoghegan} happening to have a certain Jesuit in his train, with whom Ormond entered into a warm controversy.

verſy about religious matters, in which he uſed unbecoming expreſſions, on which the zeal of O'More for the catholic faith operated upon him in ſuch a manner, that, burning with rage to hear it profaned, in a converſation ſo foreign from the purpoſe, by an heretic, he ruſhed upon him ſuddenly, and, dragging him from his horſe, made him his priſoner, whereupon the Engliſh betook themſelves to their arms, but were inſtantly put to flight, many being wounded and ſlain in the encounter.—But let the *cauſe* be what it would, moſt certainly the *action* was a baſe one, and ſuch as deſerves to be recorded with infamy to all poſterity.

The lord deputy having made a fruitleſs attempt to intercept Tyrone in his return from Munſter, now changed his method of making war, and, breaking up the army, quartered the troops in gariſons, which might more effectually ſerve his purpoſe againſt the Irish enemy, and from whence he could nevertheleſs draw together his forces at pleaſure whenever he ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance.

In May, the lord lieutenant marching towards and paſſing the Moyry, was informed that O'Neal had burned Ardmagh, raiſed Blackwater Fort, and retired to the fortreſs of Logh Luken; on which he drew towards Ardmagh, but ſending captain Blaney with five hundred foot, to conduct ſome ſuccours which were coming to him, theſe were all together briſkly attached by Tyrone, at the paſs of the Newry, but were delivered from the danger by Montjoy's ſeaſonably arriving to their aſſiſtance.

Skirmiſhes in different parts of the provinces, the ſubmiſſion of Florence Mac Carthy, and a deſign of ſeizing on the Sugaſon earl of Deſmond, (which

(which miscarried) mark great part of the remainder of this year. The same Desmond was afterwards taken, but rescued again by the Irish, the subjects of the Pale all this while complaining of the taxes and other oppressions which they laboured under ; but not being able to obtain an impartial hearing at the court of England.—The knight of the Glin's castle was taken.—The revolvers continued in the field with various success.—An intended marriage of the Sungan earl with the sister of Desmond chief of Muskerry, was prevented by that chief's being obliged to bind himself for his sister's appearance when sent for, and the earl himself departing from Kerry, where he had fixed his quarters, was attacked by the garrison of Killmallock who defeated and dispersed his troops, so that he was obliged to fly to Tiperary, as was Peirce Lacey into Ulster, for safety.—James, son of Garret earl of Desmond, then in the hands of the queen of England was sent over properly attended, in order to try whether he could not raise a party against the Sungan earl, and at first he was well received by the Irish ; but as soon as they saw him go to a protestant church, they insulted and reviled him, and plainly shewed him that he had little support to expect at their hands, who hated him on the score of his religion.—Dermot O'Connor, this young earl's brother-in-law was coming to him in order to serve him, when one Tybot, who was in the queen's pay, in contempt of a passport he had with him, fell upon him, killed forty of his followers and taking him prisoner struck off his head, for which offence the queen took away Tybot's company, when in strict justice she ought to have taken away his life, as a punishment for such a savage and perfidious action. Another attempt was made to surprise the Sungan earl, who was then in company with Dermot Mac Gragh titular bishop of Cork, but the
earl

earl was too nimble for those who were in quest of him, while the bishop, "clothing himself in the habit of a beggar, imitated one so well (says Cox) that he imposed upon the English, who did not think him worth a hanging, and so let him pass"—a ludicrous expression in what concerns serious matters, and altogether unworthy of the dignity of an historian, who ought not to deal in scurrilous jokes, nor pride himself in quaint expressions.—Florence Mac Carthy opposed the sheriff's power in his territory, and coming before the lord deputy on his parole, was persuaded to go over to England; but when he had collected money of the people of Carbury (as authorized by the president's letter) to defray the expences of the voyage, he paused upon it.—The mixed money was proclaimed, and four thousand pardons were taken out by the provincials of Munster for a number of Irish chieftains and their followers.

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1601.

The lord deputy intending what was called a general hosting, set forward from Dublin on the 22d of May, and on the 13th of June came to the Moyry, where he built a fort, and afterwards received the submission of two Irish chiefs; and Sir Henry Danvers was ordered to seize the abbey of Ardmagh, where a garrison was intended to be planted, but he was repulsed, and failed entirely in his attempt; whereupon the lord deputy marched with the main body of his army towards Ardmagh, where he placed a garrison without opposition; and some time after he beat the Irish out of their trenches, and besides this there was a smart skirmish between Sir Christopher Lawrence's regiment that was sent to Benburb and the Irish, wherein the latter, though they generally fought better in a wood, (which was now the scene of action, than on an open plain) sustained the greatest loss, the reason of which my author gives with an impartiality

tiality he is unaccustomed to adopt; for he says, it was because the English were much better marksmen, and being better furnished with ammunition, expended more shot than their enemies could spare:—He might have added, that the former had another great advantage over the latter, which was that of being near to their main body, from which, as from a never-failing fountain, they derived their succours.—But enough has been said of this skirmish, and indeed of many others, which I shall cut the detail of short for the future, and proceed to more important affairs that happened during this interesting reign.

In such skirmishes indeed great part of this year also was spent, in one of which Pierce Lacey was slain, but at length the deputy returned to Dublin, (and put the army in garrison) without having brought the enemy to a decisive battle.

In the mean time the Irish of Connaught rose, (Sir John Berkley, the president of which province, was too weak to resist their force) prepared to invade Munster; but to hinder them from attempting it, the president of Munster sent him a thousand foot, under the command of one Flower, by means of which timely succour the design was prevented, and the Irish being defeated and mostly dispersed, Flower returned victorious to Limerick.—And about this time, the president came to Cork, where he used all the methods he could devise to seize the Sagan earl of Desmond, whom at last the White Knight surpris'd; and he was arraigned: of various treasons and condemned in Ireland, but was sent (together with Florence Mac Carthy) into England, the latter also having been arrested at Cork by order of the lord deputy.

Sessions of goal delivery being holden at Cork, it was determined to seize on suspected persons, as the best means of deterring the Spaniards from an intended

tended invasion, which now began to be strongly rumoured, by cutting off the hopes of support and assistance from the Irish chiefs, without which it was presumed they would never attempt to make a descent upon the island;—and, in consequence of this resolution, Dermod Mac Owen, Mac Dermod Carthy, brother to the lord of Muskerry, and Moyle More O'Mahon of Kinal-meaky, were all arrested.

But notwithstanding these and other precautions, and many successes of the English in the different provinces, yet the council sitting on the twenty-second day of September at Kilkenny, received news the arrival of a fleet from Spain, which soon after disembarked a body of forces at Kinsale; on which the lord deputy, having given proper orders to marshall Wingfield and other officers to draw troops from the different garrisons, set forwards towards Cork, where they found a large magazine of victuals ready provided to subsist the soldiery.

The Spaniards in Kinsale were now attacked by the English; but before the latter had any likelihood of making themselves masters of the place, the earl of Tyrone and O'Donnel, who had been joined by a fresh reinforcement of two thousand Spaniards, came in sight, and the consequence was a great engagement between the two armies, in which Tyrone's forces, amounting in number to about seven thousand, were defeated, with the loss of twelve hundred soldiers slain and eight hundred wounded. The loss of the English is said to have been but trifling; and the consequence was, that Don John of Aguila surrendered, and he and his Spaniards were waisted on board English vessels to their own country.—The camp was dissolved, and, in effect, the rebellion of Tyrone drew to its final period.—The lord deputy pursued him from place to place, till he retired

retired to an inaccessible fortress, and being returned to Dublin, sent him an absolute submission, though at the same time it is said, that he wrote to O'Connor Sligo, intreating that he would by no means make a separate peace.

Sir Oliver Lambert, in the mean while, had driven the Burks out of their country, and coming to Athloan in December, O'Connor, Sligo, and Rory O'Donnell submitted; and the deputy keeping his Christmas at Galway, he received the O'Flaharty's and Mac Dermods, O'Connor Roe, and others into favour. — But O'Rourk, being amongst those who still remained in rebellion, three separate divisions of troops were ordered to attack him.

The spirit of revolt was now almost extinguished; the insurgents were almost every where reduced to such want, as that they died more by famine than by the sword, and it is even reported that mothers killed their children in order to feed upon them, and that in the province of Munster three children were seen devouring the in-trails of their dead mother.

Though the castles of Dunboy, Castlehaven, and Baltimore were agreed to have been delivered up by the Spaniards; yet the Irish under O'Sullivan Bearre, had surprised the former of these, which however the English re-took after the most obstinate resistance from the garrison that ever had been known in Ireland, the commander, though desperately wounded, as soon as he saw the English entering the castle, endeavouring to blow up them and himself together, by throwing a lighted match into a barrel of gunpowder. — This achievement was followed by the defeat and flight of many of the Irish, and by the submission of many more of the lord of Lixnaw's whole force was mastered, the province of Munster reduced to obedience,

obedience, and the whole island kept in awe by the victorious army of the English.

As to the earl of Tyrone, after having made a public submission, he received a pardon from queen Elizabeth, which was issued by advice of her council, so much against her will, that the granting it, is said to have been one of the causes of her death, though, in effect, she never enjoyed herself after the execution of Essex, and after long suffering the utmost dejection of spirits, this prince expired on the twenty-fourth day of March, in the year sixteen hundred and three, having appointed James the Sixth of Scotland for her successor on the throne of England.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.

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